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ABSTRACT

This guide book is used to accompany the exhibits at the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library and Museum. The guide provides a basic overview of the life and contributions of Herbert Hoover and can be read independent of a tour of the galleries. The book contains the following chapters: (1) "Years of Adventure"; (2) "The Great Humanitarian"; (3) "The Roaring Twenties"; (4) "The Wonder Boy"; (5) "The Logical Candidate"; (6) "The Great Depression"; (7) "From Hero to Scapegoat"; (8) "An Uncommon Woman"; and (9) "Counselor to the Republic." A bibliography of additional readings is included. (EH)

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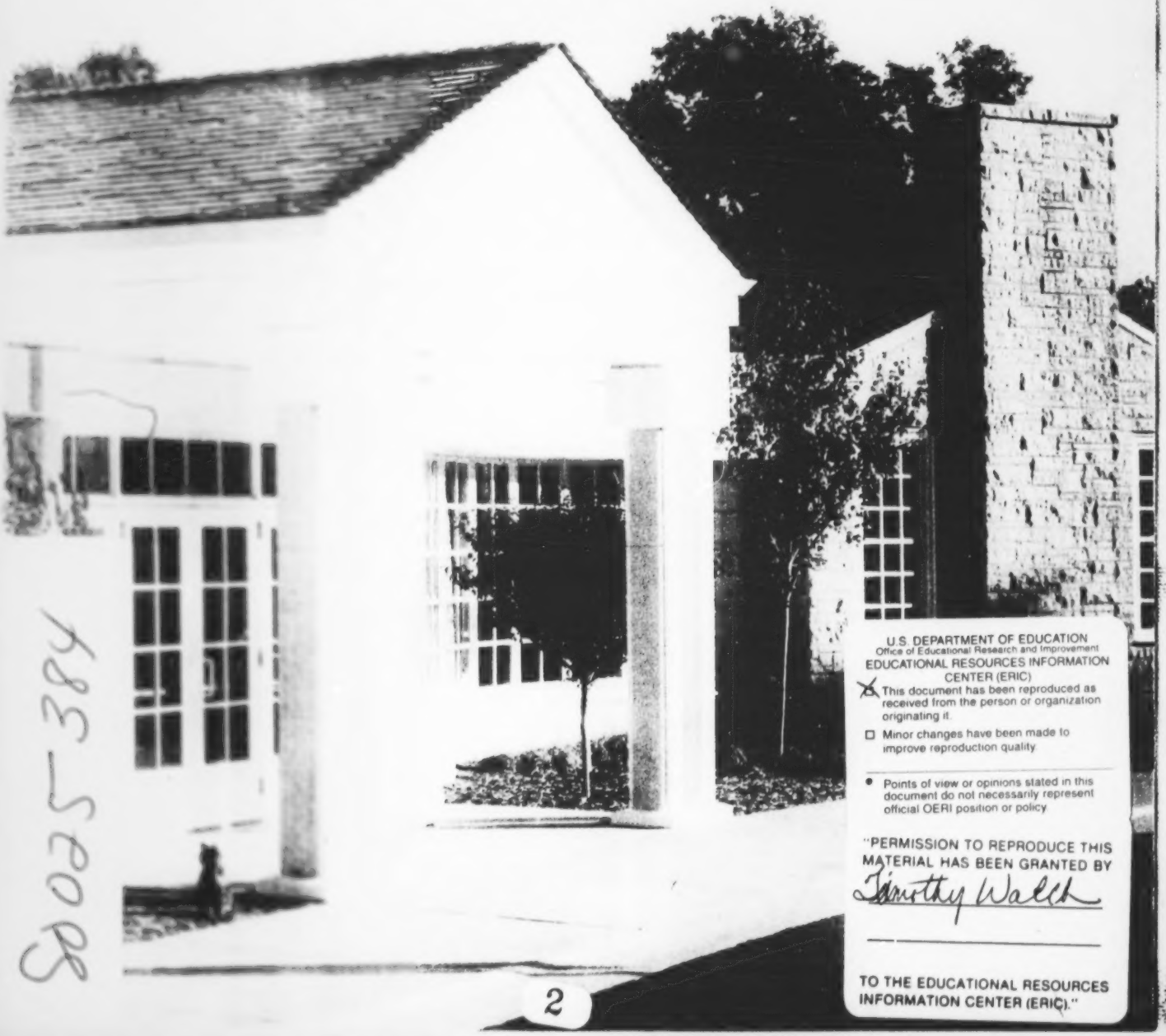
HERBERT HOOVER LIBRARY & MUSEUM

A Guide to the Exhibit Galleries



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HERBERT HOOVER
LIBRARY & MUSEUM

HERBERT HOOVER LIBRARY & MUSEUM

A Guide to the Exhibit Galleries

Richard Norton Smith
Maureen H. Harding
Timothy Walch

Herbert Hoover Library and Museum
West Branch, Iowa

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Edited and Designed by
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INTRODUCTION

Few Americans have known greater acclaim or more bitter criticism than Herbert Hoover. The son of a Quaker blacksmith, orphaned at an early age, Hoover achieved international success as a mining engineer and world wide gratitude as "The Great Humanitarian" who fed wartorn Europe during and after World War I. In the process he developed a unique philosophy - one balancing responsibility for the welfare of others with an unshakable faith in free enterprise and dynamic individualism. In time this would lead him to feed a billion people in 57 countries.

Elected 31st President of the United States in a 1928 landslide, within a few short months the global hero had become a scapegoat in his own land. Even today, Hoover remains indelibly linked with the Great Depression that put millions of his countrymen out of work in the 1930's. His 1932 defeat at the hands of Franklin D. Roosevelt left Hoover's once bright reputation in shambles.

Yet he refused to fade away. In one of history's most remarkable comebacks Hoover returned at Harry Truman's behest to avert global famine at the end of the Second World War and to reorganize the executive branch of government. By the time of his death in October 1964, Hoover had regained much of the luster once attached to his name. The Quaker theologian who eulogized him at his funeral did not exaggerate when he said of Herbert Hoover, "The story is a good one and a great one...It is essentially triumphant."

How to Use This Guide

The chapters that follow reproduce in slightly revised form the captions accompanying the exhibits in the museum's six Hoover related galleries. A map of these galleries is located at the centerfold of this guide and a gallery key is provided on the outside

edge of each page. Visitors to the galleries may wish to peruse and consult this guide as they tour the museum.

Since the galleries were designed in a biographical format, this guide also provides a basic overview of two extraordinary lives and can be read independent of a tour of the galleries. A bibliography of additional readings is included at the end of this guide.

Acknowledgements

This guide symbolizes an unprecedented reconstruction of the Hoover Library and Museum during 1991-1992. Thanks to a congressional appropriation of five million dollars, the building was expanded and completely renovated. We are grateful to supportive members of the Iowa congressional delegation and also for the continuing support of Senator Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon, lifelong Hoover scholar and friend of the Hoover Library.

The funds appropriated by Congress were for brick and mortar only; none of this amount was used to renovate the exhibits. This substantial task fell to the officers, trustees, and staff of the Hoover Presidential Library Association. Under the direction of Chairman Forbes Olberg, the Association raised over three million dollars for new exhibits and programs in the Library - Museum. Responsibility for the success of this campaign rests with Patricia Forsythe, the Association's director of development. Without the support of these two dedicated individuals, the Hoover galleries would be little more than an empty shell.

With the fundraising well in hand, the Hoover staff was free to create exhibits worthy of the man they honor. The resulting ideas and plans were a collaboration of many members of the Hoover staff working in concert with the design firm of Abrams, Teller, Madsen of Chicago, and Deaton Museum Services of Minneapolis. The daily responsibility for implementing a new master plan fell to Museum Curator Maureen Harding who logged hundreds of hours on the telephone advising, correcting, changing and improving the initial blueprint. None of which in anyway diminishes the memorable achievement of ATM and DMS, whose grand vision was matched by a painstaking attention to detail.

Worthy of special recognition is the gifted artistry of Neal Deaton and Blaine Haunsperger, who crafted the extraordinarily

lifelike figures of Mr. and Mrs. Hoover that appear throughout the galleries.

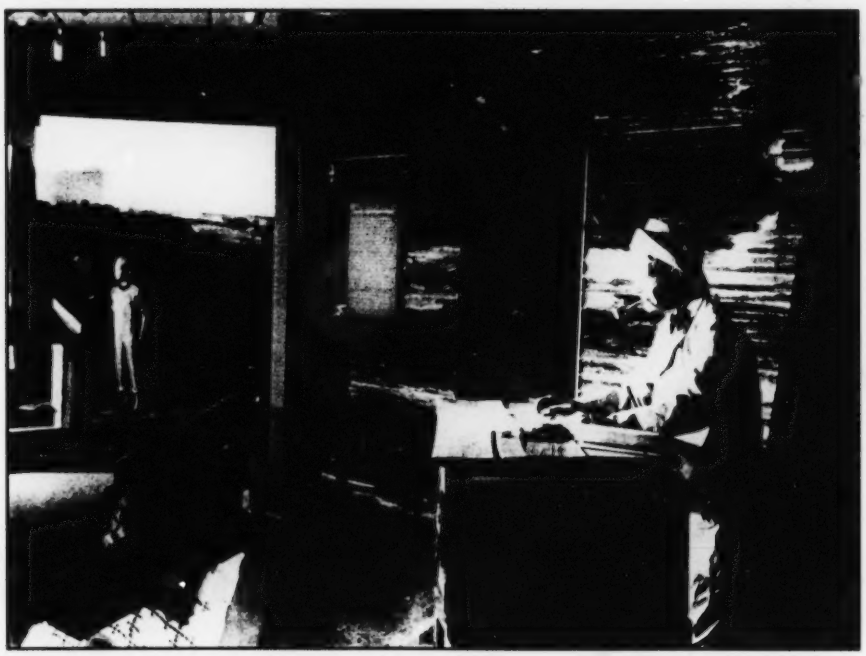
The captions that make up this guide were the work of Library Director Richard Norton Smith with the assistance of Maureen Harding and Timothy Walch. Yet without the vital support of many other people this guide would not have been possible. Foremost, is the in-house design team of Janlyn Ewald and Jennifer Pedersen. They are responsible for its attractive design and layout. Hardly less significant is the excellent photographic work done by Patrick Wildenberg of the Hoover Library and Ed Trebes of Photo Communication of Cedar Rapids.

This guide is both an introduction and an invitation to the life and times of one known throughout the world as a great humanitarian. "I directed reconstruction in many nations," Hoover said at the 1962 dedication of the original library - museum that bears his name. "Uppermost in the minds of plain people everywhere was that war should cease and that peace would come to the world. They treasured a confidence that America would maintain freedom that we would cooperate to bring peace to all mankind."

We hope you agree that these exhibits do justice to a great American and his vision for mankind. □

Part One

YEARS OF ADVENTURE



Visitors to the Hoover Library-Museum encounter numerous lifelike figures, like these two depicting Iowa's only president as a boy and in an Australian mining camp.

An Iowa Boyhood

I carry the brand of Iowa," said Herbert Hoover, recalling the experience of a five year old barefoot boy stepping on a hot iron in his father's blacksmith shop. In many ways Hoover never shed the stamp of his Quaker unbringing in West Branch, Iowa, where he was born August 10, 1874. His father, Jesse, combined Quaker piety with a very American desire to get ahead in the world. Jesse's wife Hulda was a sweet faced, devout woman who took Herbert, his brother Theodore and sister May to the unheated Meetinghouse where Bert sat quietly, sometimes for hours, as his elders waited for the Quaker Inner Light to move them to speak.

The boy's early reading was limited to the Bible, schoolbooks, "certain novels showing the huge danger of Demon Rum" and a pirated copy of the *Youth's Companion*. Young "Bert" enjoyed sledding on frosty winter nights, an activity his Aunt Hannah thought Godless. In the summer, he picked potato bugs to earn money for Fourth of July firecrackers.

GALLERY 1

The fields around West Branch held prairie chickens and rabbits to hunt; the Wapsinonoc Creek yielded fish to anyone with a willow pole, butcher string line, and the patience instilled by Quaker discipline.

Fishing became a lifelong passion for Hoover. So did the Quaker tenets of emotional self-containment and a commitment to worldly success matched by obligations of service to others. These survived the death of Jesse Hoover in 1880 and Hulda four years later.

Oregon

In the summer of 1885 eleven year old Bert Hoover boarded a Union Pacific train headed west to Oregon. Sewn into his clothes were two dimes; he also carried a hamper of his Aunt Hannah's homemade delicacies. Waiting for him on the other end of the continent was his Uncle John Minthorn, a doctor and school superintendent who Hoover recalled as "a severe man on the surface, but like all Quakers kindly at the bottom."

Hoover's six years in Oregon taught him self-reliance. "My boyhood ambition was to be able to earn my own living, without the help of anybody, anywhere." As an office boy in his uncle's

Oregon Land Company he mastered bookkeeping and typing, while attending business school in the evening. Thanks to a local schoolteacher, Miss Jane Gray, the boy's eyes were opened to the novels of Charles Dickens and Sir Walter Scott. *David Copperfield*, the story of another orphan cast into the world to live by his wits, would remain a lifelong favorite.

Stanford

In the fall of 1891 Hoover entered the new Leland Stanford, Junior, University at Palo Alto, California. Cutting a wider swath outside the classroom than in, Hoover managed the baseball and football teams, started a laundry and ran a lecture agency. Teaming up with other poor boys against campus swells, the reluctant candidate was elected student body treasurer on the "Barbarian" slate, then wiped out a student government debt of $2,000.

GALLERY 1

Hoover earned his way through school by doing typing chores for Professor John Caspar Branner, who also got him a summer job mapping the terrain in Arkansas' Ozark Mountains. It was in Branner's geology lab that he met Miss Lou Henry, a banker's daughter born in Waterloo, Iowa in 1874. Lou shared her fellow Iowan's love of the outdoors and self-reliant nature. "It isn't so important what others think of you as what you feel inside yourself," she told college friends.

Hoover graduated three months before his 21st birthday. He left Stanford with $40 in his pocket and no prospects for employment. But from this college in a hayfield he had derived much more than a degree in geology. Stanford gave Hoover an identity, a profession, and a future bride. Most of all, Stanford became for the orphan from West Branch a surrogate family - a place to belong.

Australia

Hoover's first job out of college was shoveling ore in a Nevada City, California mine. His pay? Two dollars per ten hour shift. By the spring of 1897 the London firm of Bewick, Moreing was looking for a geologist at least 35 years old and with "a lifetime of experience." Hoover fudged his age and bought a tweed dress suit to look older. Soon he found himself in the vast, arid Australian Outback, where there was more gold than water and the tem-

perature often topped one hundred degrees at midnight. He put away the dress suit.

Instead, in roughhewn settlements like Coolgardie, Kalgoorlie, and Leonora, the 23 year old Yankee nicknamed "Hail Columbia" Hoover won the trust of rowdy Aussies by his take charge ways and democratic habits. Bathing in beer instead of water, living on a diet of sardines and cocoa, Hoover road a camel through the sprawling wastes of Western Australia looking for gold. One day he scouted out a rich vein which he persuaded his London employers to purchase for a million dollars. In time the famed Sons of Gwalia mine would return $65 million to Bewick, Moreing.

In the spring of 1898 Hoover's salary was raised to $10,000 a year. His men bestowed a new title on the youthful American - "The Chief." It stuck to Hoover for the rest of his life. So did memories of wild and woolly Australia, a land of "red dust, black flies and white heat."

GALLERY

1

China

At the ripe age of 24, Herbert Hoover went to China to develop coal mines and build port facilities. On his arrival, however, Chinese officials told him to find gold - fast. Hoo-Yah and Hoo-Lou (Bert and Lou's Chinese names) found themselves in a land only reluctantly opening its doors to Western technology, expertise - and arrogance. Hoover's exaulted status forced him to travel in state with hundreds of mules, ponies, soldiers, and a translator whose fractured English led him to announce each bit of bad news with the phrase that soon became his nickname - "Really Damn."

Rumors soon spread of a great foreign mandarin whose green eyes allowed him to see through the ground to find gold.

Hoover did battle with bedbugs and a manager who smoked opium until he was pale. He met a Living Buddha who rode a bicycle around a Tibetan Lamasery. One Christmas Day he taught the game of football to a crowd of barefooted children.

Early in 1900 a wave of anti-western feeling swept China. Peking reformers were overthrown and a nativist group calling itself "I Ho Tuan," or the Boxers, laid seige to the western colony in Tientsen. Herbert and Lou Hoover were trapped along with other westerners. Hoo-Yah built barriades of rice and grainsacks; Hoo-

Loo rode her bicycle close to walls to avoid bullets, one of which punctured her tire. One afternoon while playing solitaire, an artillery shell crashed into the front hall, destroying a portion of the staircase. She went on playing as if nothing had happened. Another morning she read her obituary in a California newspaper.

Ten weeks after the seige began, help arrived in dramatic fashion. Said Hoover, "I do not remember a more satisfying musical performance than the bugles of the American Marines entering the settlement playing "There'll Be A Hot Time In The Old Town Tonight."

Man of the World

GALLERY

1

As a boy, Herbert Hoover traveled in search of family and friends. As a young man, his travels as an international "doctor of sick mines" brought him worldwide reknown and prosperity to match his prestige. Between 1901 and 1914 Hoover became a familiar figure on four continents. He saw the world of Rudyard Kipling and Somerset Maugham, crept through London fogs, contracted malaria in an Asian rice paddy and once backed out of a Burmese mine after discovering fresh tiger tracks.

After 1907 the "Great Engineer" and his family were based in London. Together with Lou, he spent three years on board ships bound for nearly forty nations. Putting their time on the sea to good use, the couple jointly translated *De Re Metallica*, a classic work by the 16th Century Latin mining scholar Georgias Agricola. Hoover also digested thick volumes of history, sociology, economics and philosophy, trying to make up for his early educational deficiencies.

Hoover's reputation grew throughout the period, and not just in mining circles. When a dishonest partner at Bewick, Moreing embezzled half a million dollars from the firm, the American insisted on paying back much of the loss from his own pocket. In 1908 Hoover left Bewick, Moreing to launch his own international consulting firm employing 175,000 workers from Siberia to Peru. Soon after, he joined Stanford's Board of Trustees. A colleague said more was accomplished during Hoover's first hour on the board than in the three preceeding years. □

Part Two

THE GREAT HUMANITARIAN

This recreated Belgian warehouse recalls Herbert Hoover's heroic efforts to feed ten million victims of World War I, for which he earned praise as "The Great Humanitarian."

World War I

GALLERY 2

Bored with making money, the Quaker side of Herbert Hoover yearned to be of service to others. In August of 1914 he got his chance, when the assassination of Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand touched off long simmering rivalries among the jealous nations of Europe. World War I - the Great War - was at hand, and few Americans were prepared. An estimated 120,000 of Hoover's countrymen, penniless and confused, were trapped on the wrong side of the Atlantic.

On August 3, Hoover received an urgent request for help from U.S. ambassador to Britain Walter Hines Page. Within twenty four hours, five hundred volunteers were assembled and the grand ballroom of the Savoy Hotel was turned into a vast canteen and distribution center for food, clothing, steamer tickets and cash. "I did not realize it at the moment, but on August 3, 1914 my engineering career was over forever. I was on the slippery road of public life."

During the next few weeks Hoover assisted Chief White Feather of Pawhuska, Oklahoma, and dowagers in jewels to get home. When one woman angrily insisted on a written pledge that no German submarine would attack her vessel in mid-ocean, Hoover readily complied.

Together with nine engineer friends Hoover loaned desperate travelers $1.5 million. All but $400 was returned, confirming the Great Engineer's faith in the American character. The difference between dictatorship and democracy, Hoover liked to say, was simple: dictators organize from the bottom down, democracies from the bottom up.

The Ordeal of Belgium

Trapped between German bayonets and a British blockade, Belgium in the fall of 1914 faced imminent starvation. Hoover was asked to undertake an unprecedented relief effort for the tiny kingdom dependent on imports for 80 percent of its food. This would mean abandoning his successful career as the world's foremost mining engineer. For several days he pondered the request, finally telling a friend, "Let the fortune go to hell." He would

assume the immense task on two conditions - that he receive no salary, and that he be given a free hand in organizing and administering what became known as the Commission for the Relief of Belgium.

The CRB became, in effect, an independent republic of relief, with its own flag, navy, factories, mills and railroads. Its $12 million a month budget was supplied by voluntary donations and government grants. More than once Hoover made personal pledges far in excess of his total worth. In an early form of shuttle diplomacy he crossed the North Sea 40 times seeking to persuade the enemies in London and Berlin to allow food to reach the war's victims. He also taught the Belgians, who regarded cornmeal as cattle feed, to eat cornbread. In all, the CRB saved ten million people from starvation.

Every day brought new crises. The British investigated charges that he was a German spy. Germans deported youthful CRB workers, including a Salvation Army major, on similar charges. At home, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge wanted to prosecute Hoover for dealing with the enemy. Theodore Roosevelt promised to hold Lodge at bay, informing Hoover that "the courage of any political official is stronger in his office than in the newspapers."

Despite the obstacles put before him Hoover persisted, purchasing rice in Burma, Argentine corn, Chinese beans and American wheat, meat and fats. Long before the Armistice of 1918 he was an international hero, in the words of Ambassador Walter Hines Page "a simple, modest, energetic little man who began his career in California and will end it in heaven."

Belgian Lace

His experiences in Belgium and postwar Europe confirmed Hoover's belief in the generosity and idealism of his fellow Americans. "If you tell them what is needed they will give you anything and everything," he once said. "The winter I ran the National Clothing Collection Drives, I put new tailcoats and tuxedos on every waiter in Europe."

Lou Hoover was no less active. A skilled organizer in her own right, Mrs. Hoover led the American Women's War Relief Committee in London. She established a knitting factory and a

hospital staffed and supported entirely by American volunteers. Perhaps most notable, she played a leading role in preserving Belgium's vital lace industry, world famous since the sixteenth century.

During World War I the Commission for the Relief of Belgium found work for more than 20,000 women in the lace-making trade, artists whose unique abilities had been passed from generation to generation. The CRB then sent this lace to Britain and America for sale, with every dollar in earnings returned directly to the women of Belgium. Lou Hoover was active in finding customers for their product, overcoming her dislike of public speaking to make numerous appeals at events like the Belgian Relief Fair. (see photo).

GALLERY

2

For their part, German authorities reluctantly permitted Belgian lacemakers to continue their output, while strictly forbidding any patriotic motifs. CRB personnel nodded their heads, then wrapped the prohibited lace around their bodies for smuggling through the port of Rotterdam.

The Children of Famine

War inflicts a special terror upon children, and the orphan from West Branch made their needs his top priority - first in Belgium and northern France, where he fed an estimated 11 million youngsters between 1914-18, and later throughout the ravaged continent of Europe. When children in the war zone showed signs of rickets and tuberculosis, cocoa was added to their diet, along with an extra "Hoover lunch" of white bread and thick vegetable soup.

Hoover's European Children's Fund - forerunner of CARE - alone helped six million victims of war. Overall it has been estimated that Hoover's relief efforts during and immediately after World War I rescued between 15 and 20 million children. Among them was a Latvian child who had lived for a year on black bread and crackers. "It was like the sun coming out," she recalled of the Sunday morning she first sampled white rolls. "Finally bread, Hoover's bread. I will never forget. Whenever anyone mentions Hoover, I think white bread." Others still remember hot lunches of condensed milk and rice, the taste of bananas, and the warmth of American boots against the winter chill.

Feeding the World

Gallantry, like the sight of hungry children, moved Hoover deeply. When two English ladies during World War I sent him a dozen silver buttons snipped from their gowns, he returned all but one "which...I shall keep as a reminder that there are people like you in the world."

There were many such people, it turned out, who responded generously to several major relief campaigns organized by Hoover during and after both world wars - among them the National Committee on Food for Small Democracies, the Finnish Relief Fund, the Polish Relief Commission and the Famine Emergency Committee.

The American Relief Administration played a pivotal role after World War I when Russia's new Bolshevik government sought outside help to avert mass famine and lethal waves of typhus, cholera and dysentery. Many of the victims were too young to know a communist from a capitalist. Hoover persuaded a Republican President and Congress to spend $20 million to help the desperate nation.

Within 17 days of signing an agreement with Soviet authorities, ARA shipments of food were reaching hospitals in St. Petersburg. Four days later the first child-feeding stations opened in Moscow. Teachers were named to supervise schoolroom kitchens and food was used to pay railroad workers. When the local Communist leader said that only fifty cars of corn could be unloaded a day, the ARA mobilized 600 hungry people who daily unloaded 150 cars in exchange for American foodstuffs. Said Hoover, "Starvation does not await the outcome of power politics."

A World of Thanks

During the First World War Hoover frowned on receiving medals - what he called "toys" - even from Belgium. Eventually King Albert persuaded him to accept a unique title on condition that it would lapse upon his death. And so Hoover became "Friend of the Belgian People," with a passport stamped Perpetual.

Official honors aside, countless gifts of appreciation were sent to Hoover for his fifty years of relief work. These included

honorary degrees and beautifully decorated albums, embroidered and woven hangings, books and letters, sculpture and artwork ranging from a child's crayon drawing to richly illuminated testimonials.

Hoover's personal favorites were the letters and drawing from children in many countries, including those from German youngsters who in the wake of World War II thanked him for their daily "Hoover Speisung," or Hoover lunch, and addressed simply to "Onkel Hoover, New York, New York."

Coming Home

GALLERY 2

In the spring of 1917 Woodrow Wilson asked Belgium's savior to become director of the new U.S. Food Administration. This latest success would burnish Hoover's already impressive reputation, until many Americans wanted him to run for President. Hoover held back. "I do not believe that I have the mental attitude or the politician's manner," he remarked to a friend soon after the war. "Above all I am too sensitive to political mud."

By then America was largely disillusioned with Woodrow Wilson's "war to end war." Instead of pride, peace brought an endless round of inflation and strikes, race riots, Red scares, shattered dreams and pointed fingers. Hoover did what he could to stem the tide. "We shall never remedy justifiable discontent until we eradicate the misery which the ruthlessness of individualism has imposed upon a minority," he said. To him reactionaries were more dangerous than radicals, more subtle in their methods, more seductive in their platitudes.

Yet what was the proper balance between individual striving for success and collective conscience? In the war's aftermath prophets as dissimilar as Einstein, Freud and Marx combined to weaken the traditional code of personal responsibility by emphasizing forces beyond individual control. Hoover disagreed, and attempted to fashion a more caring individualism, one "that will preserve the initiative, the inventiveness...the character of men and yet will enable us to synchronize socially and economically this gigantic machine that we have built out of applied science."

Food Will Win the War

The world war that introduced poison gas, flame throwers, machine guns, zeppelins, and the U-boat also produced a unique exercise in applied idealism called the United States Food Administration. Using the same techniques of mass propaganda used to inflame civilian populations, the Food Administration inspired tens of millions of Americans to observe "Meatless Mondays" and "Wheatless Wednesdays" - to substitute fish and vegetables for beef and bread - and to dig backyard War Gardens.

Hoover's formula was simple: "Centralize ideas but decentralize execution." To control wartime prices without strangling the economy, he invented Price Interpreting Boards bringing wholesalers, retailers and consumers together at the county level. He created the U.S. Grain Corporation to purchase foodstuffs and the Sugar Equalization Board to buy up Cuba's entire crop (Sugarless gum was one of the many Food Administration spinoffs).

GALLERY 2

Publicity was the glue that held the Food Administration together. "Do Not Help The Hun At Meal Time," banners proclaimed and 20 million housewives eager to comply joined Hoover's domestic army. Blood sausage became "victory sausage." Children sang songs about the "patriotic potato." Within a year Hoover could boast of doubling U.S. food shipments to Europe - without ration cards, interruption of traditional economic freedoms or heavy bureaucracy. In fact, the entire budget for the Food Administration was less than $8 million.

By war's end, Herbert Hoover was not only famous for feeding Europe. He was also celebrated as the man who had persuaded millions of his countrymen to "hooverize," sacrificing their own comforts so that desperate Allied populations might survive.

A House On San Juan Hill

Hoover envisioned returning one day to California, to renew his mining career or perhaps run a newspaper. In 1919 the same year the Hoovers began work on a Hopi style house on a hill overlooking the Stanford campus, Mr. Hoover gave Stanford $50,000 to launch the archival repository and public policy think tank that would come to be known as the Hoover Institution on War, Revo-

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lution and Peace. Scholars from Palo Alto were dispatched to comb European archives for tens of millions of documents tracing the Great War and its revolutionary aftermath.

Hoover himself attended the Versailles Peace Conference, returning home a man without illusions. America could win great wars, he concluded. But she could not make a lasting peace for Europe, with its ancient hatreds, racial mistrust, colonial ambitions and the seeds of Fascism and Communism. "There will be another world war in your time," said the French statesman George Clemenceau to Hoover at Versailles, "and you will be needed back in Europe." It was a prophetic remark.

Meanwhile work on the California house proceeded. With its rooftop dining space and exterior stairways 623 Mirada Drive reflected its occupants' love of the outdoors. "Our home must be an elastic thing," Lou told her younger son, Allan, "never entirely finished." The house was also a monument to modern technology, as many - sided as its owners. It was built of reinforced concrete and fireproofed to protect Lou's antique pewter, Chinese porcelains and the many gifts bestowed on her husband for his international relief efforts. One room recalled the Hoover's beloved Red House in London. On the second floor was a hidden study where Lou typed her own correspondence on the machine she called Miss Corona. She enjoyed every current labor saving device available, with one exception. She would not purchase a refrigerator for fear the local iceman might lose his job.

GALLERY

A House on S Street

Beginning in 1920 the Hoover's East Coast address was 2300 S Street in Washington, a 22 room house stuffed with objects d'art from all over the world, including gold boxes, figurines and placques from grateful Belgians. Since Hoover hated to eat alone, working breakfasts were common, while dinner guests filled the house almost every night. After a long day's work, Mr. Hoover would return for a family ritual: tall glasses of orange juice (this was Prohibition, after all) served on the back veranda.

In the library at 2300 S Street was one of the millions of Hoover Home Cards blossoming across the American landscape in response to the Food Administration's appeals for self-sacrifice. "Save fuel. Use wood when you can," it read. On weekends the

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family picnicked in nearby Rock Creek Park, where "the Great Engineer" rounded up volunteers to build miniature dams. Then as always, he seemed incapable of doing nothing.

A 1920 *New York Times* poll ranked Hoover among the ten greatest living Americans. Many of his countrymen in both parties hoped he would succeed the broken Wilson in the White House. Among them: Hoover's S Street neighbor Franklin D. Roosevelt. "He is certainly a wonder, and I wish we could make him President of the United States," wrote FDR. "There could not be a better one".

Hoover himself told friends he hoped to make the GOP into a strongly progressive party, of the kind Theodore Roosevelt had in mind. But when Republican delegates assembled in Chicago that June the Old Guard had its way. Hoover's cheering galleries were no match for the senatorial cabal that nominated one of its own, Warren G. Harding. □

GALLERY

2

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Part Three

THE ROARING TWENTIES

This gallery depicts some of the enormous changes that took place in sports, literature, technology, communications, and other areas of American life during the 1920s.

A Decade of Change

The Twenties were the cradle of modern America, beginning with the 1920 census, the first ever to report a majority of Americans living in urban areas. Daylight Savings Time was a spinoff of the war. So were jazz, Wall Street speculation and women's suffrage.

An explosion of new inventions and technological breakthroughs transformed popular lifestyles. Rayon stockings eliminated artificial distinctions between shopgirls and ladies of leisure. Shorter work weeks and increased wages led to a revolution in communications, transportation and recreation. Radio tied the nation together, and Hollywood gave it a common culture by cranking out 2,000 films a year. Charlie Chaplin and Babe Ruth became as famous as Henry Ford and Charles Lindbergh.

GALLERY 3

Even the universe itself was being redefined, thanks to the pioneering work of scientists like Albert Einstein. As Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover rejoiced in the scientific and technological ingenuity of the age. "There are continents of human welfare of which we have only penetrated the coastal plane," he enthused.

The Dry - And Deadly - Decade

On January 16, 1920, the Eighteenth Amendment banning the sale, manufacture or transportation of "intoxicating liquor" took effect. Thirsty Americans defied the law by drinking "coco-whiskey" aged three weeks in a coconut shell, or bathtub gin that was one-third alcohol and two-thirds water, with a trace of glycerin added for smoothness. At New York's Club El Fay, watered scotch went for $1.50 a drink and "Texas" Guinan summarized an era with her bawdy greeting to customers: "Hello, suckers." In the atmosphere of general lawlessness bred by Prohibition, bootleggers and gamblers thrived. Urban gangsters moved in to secure a share of the lucrative business and corrupt politicians looked the other way as mobsters like Al Capone terrorized whole cities.

A Time for Heroes

Mass communications made instant heroes and fostered the cult of celebrity. Feats of derring-do like Charles Lindbergh's solo flight across the Atlantic in 1927 or Admiral Richard Byrd's polar explorations inspired popular adulation. When Amelia Earhart soared above the landscape, she too captured the imagination of millions. Meanwhile, earthbound capitalists such as Henry Ford were lionized for innovations like the five dollar workday and mass production techniques that lowered prices and democratized travel.

Fads

GALLERY

3

With the rise of modern communications, even rural Americans were suddenly exposed to the latest fads from Park Avenue to Main Street. The Twenties are still recalled as a time of outlandish exploits—flagpole sitters, ouija boards, Charlestons dances at round the clock marathons, "twenty-three skidoo", Florida real estate, and the more sedate obsession of the crossword puzzle - all chronicles in new publications like *Time* and the *Reader's Digest*.

Hollywood

America got a new cultural capital in the 1920s - a dusty California crossroads called Hollywood. Each week up to 100,000,000 people, nearly eighty percent of the country's total population, went to the movies. Here working men and women could escape their humdrum existences and laugh with Charlie Chaplin's "Little Tramp," swoon over Rudolph Valentino, or leer at the undraped female flesh displayed by Mack Sennett's bathing beauties. After 1927 the movies found their voice, and millions of starstruck Americans could agree with Al Jolson: "You ain't heard nothing yet."

Sports

Americans went crazy for sports in the Twenties. Athletes like Bobby Jones and Gene Tunney became celebrations, while ordinary duffers with leisure time and disposable income discovered the joys of organized competition. Hoover's countrymen bought 300,000 tennis balls a month; two million Americans took to golf. And everyone, it seemed, enjoyed the heroics - and antics - of Babe Ruth. One scorching day President Harding attended a Yankee game and the Babe was on hand to greet him, irreverent as ever. "Hot as hell, ain't it Prez?" he asked.

Monkeys and Missionaries

GALLERY 3

Amid the psychological and cultural rubble of World War I, many Americans questioned the old faiths. Liberal Protestants preached a Social Gospel and made the first tentative gestures toward modern ecumenism. At the other extreme, Fundamentalism (the term was coined in 1921) swept much of the South and Midwest. Revivalist preachers led by the controversial Aimee Semple McPherson drew overflow crowds and huge radio audiences.

Another, very different figure at the center of a religious storm was John Scopes, a young Tennessee biology teacher whose challenge to that state's law prohibiting classroom instruction in the theory of evolution set off a celebrated 1925 courtroom encounter between Clarence Darrow and William Jennings Bryan. "You believe in the age of rocks," said Bryan, "I believe in the rock of ages." Scopes lost the case but won the war; Bryan, humiliated, died a week after the trial ended. On his tombstone were carved the words, "He kept the Faith."

The Ku Klux Klan

In the wake of the Civil War, unreconstructed Southerners joined the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan to terrorize African-Americans. Half a century later, a virulent revival of the old hatreds targeted immigrants, Catholics and Jews as well as blacks for their

supposed threat to American purity. To some, the kleagles, dragons and wizards were a joke - but not to the politicians. With four million members or more, the Klan became a major power, especially in the Democratic Party, helping to deny the 1924 presidential nominations to New York's Governor Alfred E. Smith, a Roman Catholic.

The Shock of the New

GALLERY 3

From the non-representational art of Picasso to the subversive rhythms of jazz, Americans in the Twenties were submerged in wave after wave of cultural radicalism. American women in alarming numbers smoked cigarettes and cursed. College-age youth divided themselves into sheiks and shebas, the former distinguished by argyle socks and hip flasks, their female counterparts identified by short skirts and shingled hair. With one-fifth of the nation's workforce female and the divorce rate reaching one marriage in six, many believed the traditional family to be endangered.

In 1921 New York police broke up the inaugural meeting of the American Birth Control League, whose founder, Margaret Sanger, saw contraception as the scientific alternative to poverty, crime and urban squalor. By 1923 the National Women's Party appeared on the scene, sworn to enact an Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

From Gopher Prairie to Greenwich Village

In 1920 Sinclair Lewis electrified the nation with *Main Street*, his scathing portrayal of smalltown meanness and cultural deprivation in the mythical village of Gopher Prairie, Minnesota. Lewis followed his triumph with *Babbit*, an equally damning satire on Twenties-style boosterism. Other writers, from Sherwood Anderson to Willa Cather, displayed their own love-hate relationship with the American heartland. Cather, for example, wrote lyrically of rural Nebraska while residing in New York's bohemian Greenwich Village, where free verse vied with free love and psychoanalysis was all the rage. Whatever the source, the Twenties produced the century's richest literature, rooted in an alienation strong enough to send some of the country's best writers (like Fitzgerald and Hemingway) fleeing to Paris.

Everyday Life in the Modern Age

The Twenties were much more than immodest flappers and unscrupulous financiers. Life expectancy rose by five years (from 55 to 60), the largest gain for any decade in American history. The percentage of Americans with a high school diploma doubled. Daily eating habits were changing too: the average American ate seventy-five pounds a year less than in 1910. Thin was in, and with more time to read, the recently formed Book-of-the-Month Club helped promote the decades's biggest literary success: *Diet and Health* topped the best seller list for two and a half years.

The Consumer Revolution

GALLERY

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Americans took to the road in the 1920's as the number of automobiles soared from six million to twenty-seven million. Helping to spur sales was yet another innovation, the two week summer vacation. Meanwhile, Hoover's passion for standardized goods did not stop at the auto assembly plant. Corner shops gave way to chain stores, like Woolworth's and the Piggly Wiggly Supermarkets, which supplied identical goods at identical prices. At home millions of women took advantage of new machines to lighten household drudgery. Home sewing, once a staple of rural life, all but disappeared, thanks to mass produced clothing with a fashionable twist - and the Sears and Roebuck catalogue. □

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Part Four

THE WONDER BOY

The Roaring Twenties were a time of constant change and innovation. Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover was active in everything from radio to aviation to child welfare.

Warren and Cal

Warren Harding was a smalltown newspaper editor from Ohio who wanted to be America's best loved President. And in fact, Harding's sudden death in August 1923, caused a genuine outpouring of popular emotion. Only later did his countrymen learn the sordid details of Teapot Dome and other scandals that would destroy Harding's historical reputation. According to the good natured Harding, he had no trouble dealing with his enemies. "It's my damn friends that keep me awake at night."

Calvin Coolidge, Harding's vice president, was a very different sort - shy where the Ohioan was expansive, suspicious where his predecessor had trusted all too easily. Yet he was not the "Silent Cal" of legend, as transcripts of his press conferences make clear. Americans tired of "the mess in Washington" overwhelmingly elected Coolidge to a full term of his own in 1924. They laughed at his Vermont witicisms and nodded approvingly over what came to be known as Coolidge Prosperity. Most of all, they liked his tax cuts and the calm he restored after the war and scandals of Harding's era. During Coolidge's presidency the national debt was cut in half - the last time in U.S. history that such a feat was even attempted.

GALLERY 3

Secretary of Commerce, Undersecretary of Everything Else

Herbert Hoover agreed to serve as Secretary of Commerce only after securing President-elect Harding's promise that he would have a free hand in all economic policy. Most people in 1921 viewed Commerce as a sleepy bureaucratic backwater, its main functions "turning out the lighthouses at night and putting the fish to bed." Yet under Hoover this themeless hodgepodge became the most dynamic agency in Washington.

Three new divisions were created to deal with housing, radio and aeronautics. While the Fisheries Bureau helped to save Alaska's salmon, Hoover convened a meeting of fishermen and oilmen to save Chesapeake Bay - part of a seemingly endless series of public conferences and private think tanks, all designed to educate decision makers, inspire legislation or promote grassroots cooperation.

Under Secretary Hoover, the Census Bureau was expanded into an informational treasure trove for business planners. The Railway Labor Mediation Board was established in 1926. Hoover personally raised more than a million dollars to further scientific research.

As befitting the man who insisted that all airport runways be fitted with landing lights, radio beams and other safety devices, Washington's first airfield was given Hoover's name. In 1924 the Commerce Department sponsored the National Conference on Street and Highway Safety - this after 20,000 people died in auto accidents the previous year. Hoover himself wrote the nation's first uniform highway safety code after a friend obeying District of Columbia traffic regulations was cited for twenty-four violations enroute to New York.

GALLERY

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The Wonder Boy

By the summer of 1923 Warren Harding was a sick man, obsessed with corrupt friends who were selling out the nation's naval oil reserve at Wyoming's Teapot Dome. "In all the history of this government," Harding told his upright Secretary of Commerce, "there have only been three Cabinet officers who betrayed their chiefs, and two of them are in my Cabinet." On a trip to the West Coast late in July an anguished president asked Hoover what he would do if he uncovered a great scandal in the administration.

"Blow it out at once," replied Hoover. By itself, such an act would demonstrate Harding's personal integrity. But Warren Harding did not live to follow Hoover's advice. On the night of August 3 he suffered a fatal stroke in a San Francisco hotel room. On the other side of the continent the lights went on in a Vermont farmhouse. Calvin Coolidge was awakened by his father, a local justice of the peace, for a predawn inaugural that caught the public's fancy and launched the Coolidge legend.

Coolidge frowned on Hoover's activist approach to government. Privately he derided him as "The Wonder Boy". But Hoover's star was continuing to rise. The *Chicago Daily News* spoke for millions when it published the following in 1923:

> Who kept the Belgians' black bread buttered?
> Who fed the world when millions muttered?

Who knows the needs of every nation?
Who keeps the keys of conservation?
Who fills the bins when mines aren't earning?
Who keeps the homefires banked and burning?
Who'll never win a presidential position?
For he isn't a practical politician?
Hoover - that's all!"

Standardizing a Culture

In one of his most highly publicized campaigns, Secretary Hoover exhorted American industry to standardize products ranging from milk bottles and auto tires to kitchen plumbing and gas meters. According to humorists of the day, the only item not subject to Hoover's obsessive crusade to eliminate waste was the padlock key. But Hoover was dead serious, and for good reason. By reducing manufacturing costs and boosting productivity, standardization created jobs and made it easier for do-it-yourselfers to build a house or tighten a screw.

Some critics found fault with homogenized goods and the deadening monotony of the assembly line. Like the engineer that he was, Hoover preferred to concentrate on the practical benefits of commerical uniformity. It made no difference to him whether his automobile resembled that of a million other motorists, so long as it got him where he wanted to go safely and speedily. "The man who has a standard electric light, a standard radio, and one and a half hours more daily leisure is more of a man," he insisted. He has "more individuality than he has without these tools for varying his life."

Better Homes in America

When not looking for ways to preserve the scenic splendor of Niagara Falls, pressuring leaders of the steel industry into accepting an eight hour workday or attacking British and Dutch monopolies of South American rubber, Hoover served as president of Better Homes in America, a prime example of what one scholar has labeled his "unique brand of cooperative capitalism."

No American industry enjoyed such explosive growth dur-

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ing the 1920s as housing construction. It didn't just happen.

More than 9,000 local chapters of the Better Homes organization helped lower the average cost of a new home by one-third, while stimulating a fifty percent increase in new construction. In thousands of communities across the land members staged annual contests for the best newly erected small house. They disseminated a manual for prospective homeowners written by Hoover. They also promoted a new building code fo municipalities (another Hoover creation).

In 1920 only forty-one municipalities had zoning laws protecting homeowners from the encroachment of factories or businesses into residential areas. By 1928 there were 640. And the American Dream of homeownership was accessible to more citizens than ever before.

GALLERY

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Child's Bill of Rights

The loss of both parents before his tenth birthday made Herbert Hoover deeply sympathetic to other children in distress. Throughout the 1920s he served as president of the American Child Health Association. Each May first was designated as "Child Health Day," a national event drawing almost as much publicity as the historic fight between Jack Dempsey and Gene Tunney. The new organization launched surveys in thirty-one states; its findings shocked the nation into action.

For example, one annual report on infant mortality challenged lawmakers to improve maternity hospitals, hire full time health officials and discharge incompetent midwives.

A special Indian Nursing Service was established. Between 1923 and 1927 "flying squads" of ACHA personnel were sent into thirty states to monitor milk supplies. Thanks to their highly publicized findings, over 250 municipalities passed ordinances requiring pasteurization. By 1930 Hoover could announce that diarrhea was no longer a leading cause of death among American infants.

As president, Hoover increased the budget of the Children's Bureau and called a landmark White House Conference on the Health and Protection of Children. The nineteen point "Children's Charter" that came out of this gathering was in many ways an extension of the Child's Bill of Rights first published by the American Child Health Association in 1923.

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Radio

At the start of the 1920s radio was a costly novelty, limited to a few thousand amateurs across the country. Then came an explosion of popular interest that within four years led to two million sets and some 530 stations - answerable to no one. Hoover changed all that, snatching regulation of the 'wireless telephone" away from the Bureau of Navigation and chairing a series of conferences, where it was decided that radio licenses would be limited initially to three months, that certain bands would be set aside for public service broadcasting, and that there would be no British-style regimentation of the airwaves.

In the course of his activities, Secretary Hoover received an angry telegram from radio preacher Aimee Semple McPherson. "Please order your minions of Satan to leave my station alone," it commanded. "You cannot expect the Almighty to abide by your wave length nonsense. When I offer my prayers to Him, I must fit in with His wave reception." McPherson eventually eloped with the Commerce Department representative dispatched to explain the realities of federal regulation.

Another religious sect asked Hoover for permission to build a station from which to disseminate warnings of the world's imminent end. He told them to spend their money for air time on existing outlets; if the world was really going to end in a month, it would be a far wiser investment.

GALLERY 3

The First Television Star

A Washington funeral home might seem an unlikely place for the debut of a revolutionary technology. Yet that is precisely where television was born, on April 27, 1927. And Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover was on hand for the first intercity transmission of video imagery.

Two hundred miles away, sixty men gathered in the midtown Manhattan laboratory of A.T. & T., listened and watched as Hoover gazed into a small black box and spoke into an ordinary telephone receptacle. No one could predict how the new technology might be applied, said Hoover. "All we can say today is that there has been created a marvelous agency for whatever use the future may find with the full realization that every great and funda-

mental discovery of the past has been followed by use far beyond the vision of its creator."

Hoover's television appearance won rave reviews. Said *The New York Times*, "It was fun as if a photograph had suddenly come to life and begun to talk, smile, nod its head and look this way and that..." Hoover himself was less thrilled by the subsequent development of the new medium. He generally limited his viewing to baseball games. Yet even there he was unable to avoid the single worst thing about TV - its singing commercials!

Taming the Colorado

GALLERY 3

The Colorado River flows 1,700 miles from the icy western slope of the Rockies to the semi-tropical Gulf of California. Along the way it drains a quarter million mile area in seven states. Today twenty million people and two million farms rely upon the Colorado for their livelihood. But in the 1920s the river slashed its way across a Great American Desert. Making things even worse, California's Imperial Valley was subject to regular flooding by the Colorado.

Theodore Roosevelt had tried and failed to get Congress to approve a flood relief program. Then in 1921 Herbert Hoover became Chairman of the Colorado River Commission. Quick to grasp the river's power and irrigation possibilities, Hoover summoned officials from each of the affected states. At round-the-clock meetings held in a remote mountaintop lodge in New Mexico, he did his best to balance conflicting interests, claims of state sovereignty, and Indian tribal rights.

For eighteen days they talked. When greedy Californians refused to compromise their demands, the secretary announced, "I'm going to disband this conference...and (say) that you are the people who killed Cock Robin." The Californians left, but the other delegates stayed long enough to hammer out a historic compact dividing water and power on a pre-arranged formula. Private power companies spent huge sums to defeat the plan in Congress. But after a five year lobbying effort by Hoover's Commerce Department, the Colorado River Compact was approved.

In 1931 construction work began on Hoover Dam, one of the engineering marvels of the modern age.

A River on the Rampage

Hoover's faith in American generosity and know-how was dramatically confirmed in the spring of 1927, when the Mississippi River rushed over its bank, flooding 20,000 square miles under a sheet of yellow water and leaving 600,000 people without shelter. Over three hundred people died in the greatest natural disaster in American history.

Hoover rushed to the scene to assess needs and direct resources where most needed. He went on the radio to raise $15,000,000 for the Red Cross. Coordinating the efforts of eight separate government agencies as well as the Red Cross, the Secretary of Commerce assembled an armada of 600 ships, ordered a trainload of feed from Chicago (promising, "We'll settle this later"), and organized vast tent cities for tens of thousands of refugees. Hoover's relief was color-blind; in one southern city he brusquely told a group of white businessmen that unless they produced $5 million by the time his train left he would start transporting neglected Blacks north that same night.

GALLERY 3

Visiting ninety-one communities, Hoover's message was the same in each: "A couple of thousand refugees are coming. They've got to have accommodations. Huts. Water mains. Sewers. Streets. Dining halls. Meals. Doctors. Everything. And you haven't got months to do it. You haven't got weeks. You've got hours. That's my train."

"I suppose I could have called in the whole of the Army," said Hoover later. "But what was the use? All I had to do was to call in Main Street itself."

Searching for a Philosophy

The Commerce Department would prove to be a perfect training ground for Hoover's vision of a society always advancing through individual enterprise and warmhearted cooperation. In 1922 he published *American Individualism*, a volume distilling his earlier experiences in Belgium, the Food Administration and the ARA. "We might as well talk of abolishing the sun's rays if we would secure our food," wrote Hoover, "as to talk of abolishing individualism as a basis of successful society."

Yet American individualism was unlike any other. Tem-

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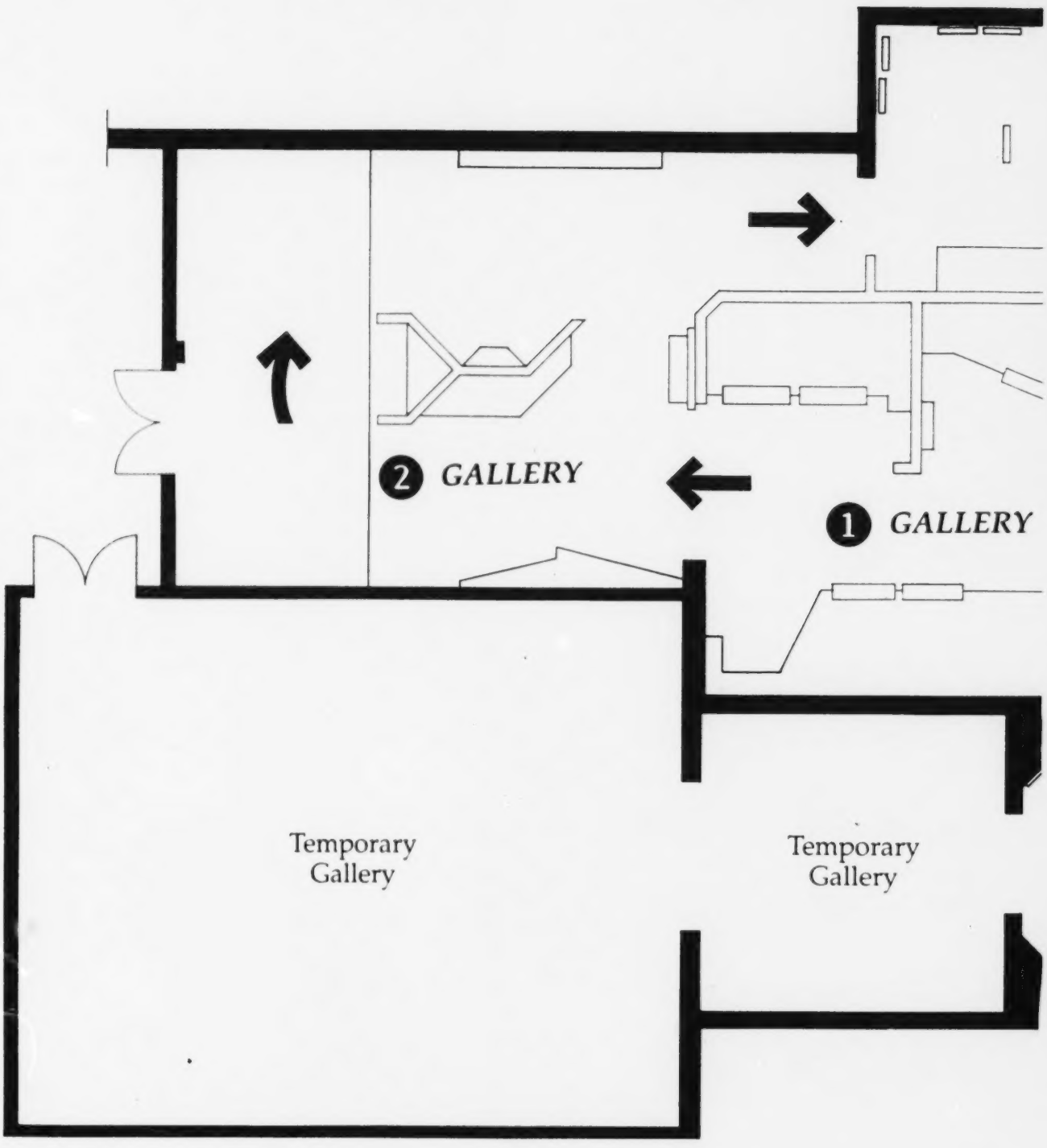

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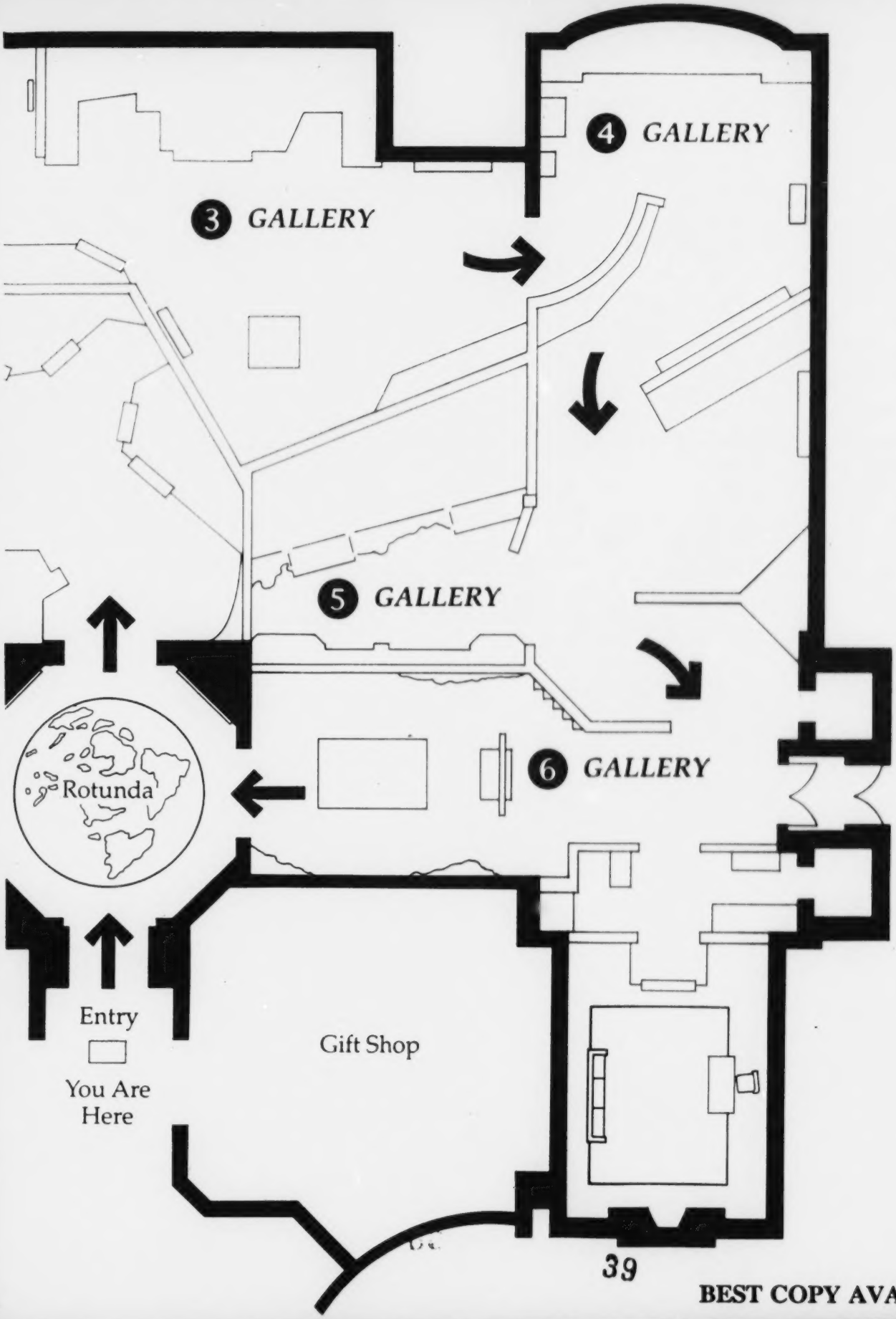

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pered by equality of opportunity and a sense of obligation to one's neighbors, "Its stimulus is competition. Its safeguard is education. Its greatest mentor is free speech and voluntary organization for the public good."

It wasn't difficult to trace the origin of his faith. Out of his Quaker background came Hoover's insistence on the spark of divinity within each person. His personal struggle for success had convinced him that "human leadership cannot be replenished by selection like queen bees, by divine right or bureaucracies." At the same time his humanitarian work had instilled a passionate belief in voluntary association for the common good. By the 1920's Hoover's unique brand of individualism - generous enough to promote social justice and self-confident enough to ward off the deadening hand of government dictation - was being applied throughout America. Red Crosses, Community Chests, YMCAs and settlement houses; here were the building blocks of what Hoover called the Individualizing State. □

GALLERY

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Part Five

THE LOGICAL CANDIDATE

Hoover was the logical choice for president in 1928. This gallery focuses on the promise and accomplishments of the Hoover administration.

GALLERY 4

Who But Hoover?

Calvin Coolidge did not choose to run for a second term in 1928, and Old Guard Republicans, suspicious of Hoover's activist approach to government, had little choice but to accept the popular Commerce Secretary. GOP rivals complained in the weeks leading up to the party's nominating convention in Kansas City that the nation's small town press contained nothing but publicity for Hoover and Fletcher's Castoria ads.

More seriously, the man who had fed Belgium, ran the U.S. Food Administration, revolutionized the Department of Commerce and ministered to victims of the Mississippi flood appeared an ideal candidate: more realistic than Wilson, more respectable than Harding, more imaginative than Coolidge and more purely American than his Democratic opponent, New York Governor Alfred E. Smith. Dazzled by his past achievements, few of Hoover's countrymen stopped to ask whether the Great Engineer had a political temperament.

Following Hoover's first ballot nomination (Kansas Senator Charles Curtis was named to be his vice presidential running mate) even pro-Smith liberals found grounds for optimism. Columnist Walter Lippmann concluded that Hoover was himself a reformer who, given the chance, would "purify capitalism of its...commercialism, its waste, and its squalor." Millions of Americans agreed. "Who But Hoover?" they asked, posing a question that practically answered itself.

East Side Versus West Branch

Alfred E. Smith was a colorful, charismatic product of New York's lower East Side, an urban hero to many. But as the first Catholic to be nominated for President, Al Smith was targeted by nativist elements. One group even distributed photos of New York's Lincoln Tunnel, claiming that this was to be the Pope's direct conduit to the White House. While Hoover denounced such tactics, he did not escape the mud-slinging aimed in his direction. Southern Democrats, fearful of Republican inroads into their stronghold, doctored a picture to show the Commerce Secretary dancing with a black woman at the time of his Mississippi flood relief work.

Whispering aside, the 1928 election was a contest between two self-made men, each of whom celebrated the glories of American individualism. Hoover's New Day platform included shorter working hours for labor, additional public works and a Federal Farm Board to assist hard-pressed farmers. One of the few major issues dividing the candidates was Prohibition, with Hoover supporting the constitutional ban on manufactoring and selling alcoholic beverages and Smith pressing for its appeal.

Confronted with a heroic opponent who took credit for prosperity while vowing to eliminate society's imperfections, some of Smith's partisans tried portraying Hoover as the true radical. Franklin D. Roosevelt said of his Washington neighbor, "He has shown in his own department an alarming desire to issue regulations and to tell businessmen generally how to conduct their affairs."

GALLERY 4

Voters rejected the argument. On Election Day they gave Hoover 58% of the popular vote and 444 electoral votes to Smith's 87. Strangely, the victorious candidate's sense of triumph was muted. "My friends have made the American people think me a sort of superman," said Hoover in December, 1928. "They expect the impossible of me and should there arise in the land conditions with which the political machinery is unable to cope I will be the one to suffer." It was an uncanny prophecy.

The Good Neighbor

Before 1928 American presidents rarely left the shores of the United States. This was consistent with the country's traditional isolation from world affairs and its distrust of foreign involvements. As if to emphasize his desire to break with the past, three days after his election Hoover announced plans to visit eleven South American nations before Inauguration Day.

According to the president-elect, the impending journey was a visit "of one good neighbor to another." Few Latin Americans regarded the Colossus of the North as an especially good neighbor. Hoover resolved to change all that, and, in fact, everywhere the President-elect and his party went they were warmly received. Not that the journey was without incident. Potential disaster was averted when an Argentine anarchist intent on assassinating the visiting American was arrested. Hoover professed unconcern,

tearing off the front page of a newspaper that revealed the plot and explaining, "It's just as well that Lou shouldn't see it."

Once in office, Hoover made good on his pledge not to interfere in Latin America's internal affairs. He withdrew U.S. troops from Haiti and Nicaragua, and together with Secretary of State Henry Stimson negotiated a border dispute between Chile and Peru. Stimson, not easily impressed, confided to his diary in latter years that Hoover had forgotten more about foreign affairs than most men ever learned.

The Inauguration

GALLERY 4

On March 4, 1929, Chief Justice William Howard Taft administered the oath of office to America's 31st president. Quaker style, Hoover "affirmed" the thirty five word oath required of every President since George Washington. Then he rode back to the White House in a driving rainstorm. Discarding the traditional inaugural ball, Washingtonians attended an affair held to benefit local charity.

In the days leading up to March 4 one of Hoover's friends warned him, "People expect more of you than they have of any other President." As if in response, Hoover's inaugural address sounded an activist note, celebrating prosperity while insisting that more could be done to spread its benefits evenly. "We want to see a nation built of homeowners and farmowners," he said. "We want to see more and more of them insured against death and accident, unemployment and old age. We want them all secure."

Accomplishments

True to his instincts, Hoover's first months in office were a whirlwind of reform. The new president began his term by banishing the White House stables and mothballing the presidential yacht. Within thirty days of his inauguration, Hoover announced an expansion of Civil Service protection throughout the federal establishment, canceled private oil leases on government lands and directed federal law enforcement officials to focus their energies on gangster-ridden Chicago, leading to the arrest and conviction of Al Capone on tax evasion charges.

Hoover's Commission on Conservation and Administration of the Public Domain paved the way for an additional three million acres of national parks, and 2.3 million acres in national forests. In the summer of 1929 the President kept a campaign promise by convincing a special session of Congress to establish a Federal Farm Board to support farm prices. He persuaded two of the new board's members to abandon jobs that payed over $100,000 a year. Cynics sneered at such "Hoover patriots" but the new president pressed ahead with plans for a series of dams in the Tennessee Valley and in central California, tax cuts graduated to favor low-income Americans and a massive program of prison reform that stressed education and rehabilitation. In other domestic intitiatives, Hoover created the Veterans Administration and doubled veterans' hospital facilities; established the Anti-trust Division of the Justice Department to prosecute unfair competition and restraint of trade cases; required air mail carriers to improve service; and advocated federal loans for urban slum clearance.

GALLERY 4

Hoover also established the Federal Bureau of Prisons and reorganized the Bureau of Indian Affairs to protect Native Americans from exploitation. He proposed a federal Department of Education, as well as $50-a-month pensions for Americans over 65—the last proposal falling by the wayside after Wall Street crashed. In November 1930 Hoover presided over a pioneering White House Conference on Child Health and Protection which lead to numerous child welfare reforms at the state and local level. A second White House conference the following year focused on homebuilding and home ownership.

On the international scene, Hoover took steps to halt the arms race through the 1930 London Naval Conference and the 1932 World Disarmament Conference in Geneva. He imposed an arms embargo to Latin America, proposed a one-third cut in the number of submarines and battleships and sought unsuccessfully to eliminate all bombers, tanks, and chemical warfare. The administration negotiated a treaty authorizing construction of the St. Lawrence-Seaway along the U.S. Canadian border, but the Senate failed to ratify the pact. (Not until 1957 would the project be completed) In January 1932 the United States rejected Japan's invasion of Manchuria, a dress rehearsal for World War II. Through the Hoover-Stimson Doctrine the administration tried to mobilize world opinion to restore Chinese sovereignty.

GALLERY 4

The Nation's Social Center

The greatest crisis since the Civil War complicated but could not halt the social demands placed upon a President and his First Lady. Guests at the Hoover White House included the King and Queen of Siam, Charles Lindbergh, British Prime Minister James Ramsay MacDonald and Helen Keller, who identified a bust of George Washington by running her hands over the smooth marble and who crawled on her hands and knees to touch the Great Seal woven into a foyer rug.

Resenting ceremonial demands on his time, Hoover complained that while the country was burning, loquacious congressmen wanted him to cut ribbons. On January 1, 1930, he shook 9,000 hands at the traditional New Year's Day reception. He did manage to eliminate the daily public receptions where hundreds of citizens filed by for a presidential handshake. Most evenings a formally dressed president dined with guests and poured White Rock water from a bottle wrapped in a towel, champagne style. Afterwards he sat with his eyes closed at the East Room musicales featuring the likes of Rosa Ponselle and Jascha Heifetz.

Inevitably much of the social burden fell to Lou Hoover. Staff members were instructed to make awed visitors feel at home. "Well, don't ever worry," Lou explained to a young assistant concerned over protocol. "You just always do what will make the other fellow feel comfortable, at ease, and then you will be all right."

The First Lady proved a woman of her word. One day her husband announced that instead of four guests for dinner he was bringing home forty. Lou directed the kitchen staff to grind up everything in the White House freezers for croquettes. The resulting recipe for "White House Surprise Supreme" could never be recreated - for obvious reasons.

The President Relaxes

"I have discovered that even the work of the government can be improved by leisurely discussions out under the trees," said Hoover. At the same time he joked that there were only two activities in which a president could enjoy some measure of privacy,

fishing and prayer — and no man could pray all the time. In between nibbles at Camp Rapidan, the fishing camp he built with $120,000 of his own money, the embattled president held front-porch conferences with congressmen and economic advisers. One weekend in 1932 he spent twelve hours on a long-distance hookup, personally directing a rush order of $35 million so that a major Chicago bank could open on Monday morning.

After White House physician Joel T. Boone urged Hoover to lose weight, Boone's patient adapted a game of medicine ball he had first played on a battleship off Rio de Janeiro during his Latin American journey. For thirty minutes each day, seven days a week, Hoover and his "Medicine Ball Cabinet" relished a game that burned up three times as many calories as tennis and six times that of golf.

This sports-loving president rarely unbent in public. He did stop one afternoon to watch a sandlot ball game, cheering on the kids at play and informally chatting with them when the game ended. Colleagues urged the president to return the next day and be photographed. It would be good for his public image. Hoover would do nothing of the kind, for the same reason that he banned pictures of his daily medicine ball game. It was one thing to relax, however infrequently, quite another to perform.

GALLERY 4

Personal and Family

The White House into which President and Mrs. Hoover moved in March 1929 reflected the chilly austerity of their predecessors. "Bleak as a New England barn," said Hoover of the upstairs family quarters. It did not take long for Lou to replace the dreary furnishings with cherished pieces from their own homes. On a more formal note she refurbished some of James Monroe's elegant Empire furniture (giving rise to complaints in the *Congressional Record*) for the ceremonial East Room.

Prior to the First World War, presidents devoted as little as two hours a day to office work, with another two or three spent in receiving visitors and the press. Depression era demands led to four presidential secretaries in place of one. Hoover became the first chief executive to install a telephone in his office. Among the "valuable privileges attached to being President," he wrote later, was the right to terminate all interviews, conferences, social parties, and receptions. A president "can go to bed whenever he likes. I

liked ten o'clock, as I had to rise at seven and read a great deal during the night."

Herbert Hoover was one of two American presidents to give away his salary (John F. Kennedy being the other). He anonymously donated $25,000 a year to aid victims of the Depression and raised $500,000 toward the 1930 White House Conference on Child Health and Welfare. Yet surprisingly, given his special feelings toward young people, the president kept his own family shielded from view.

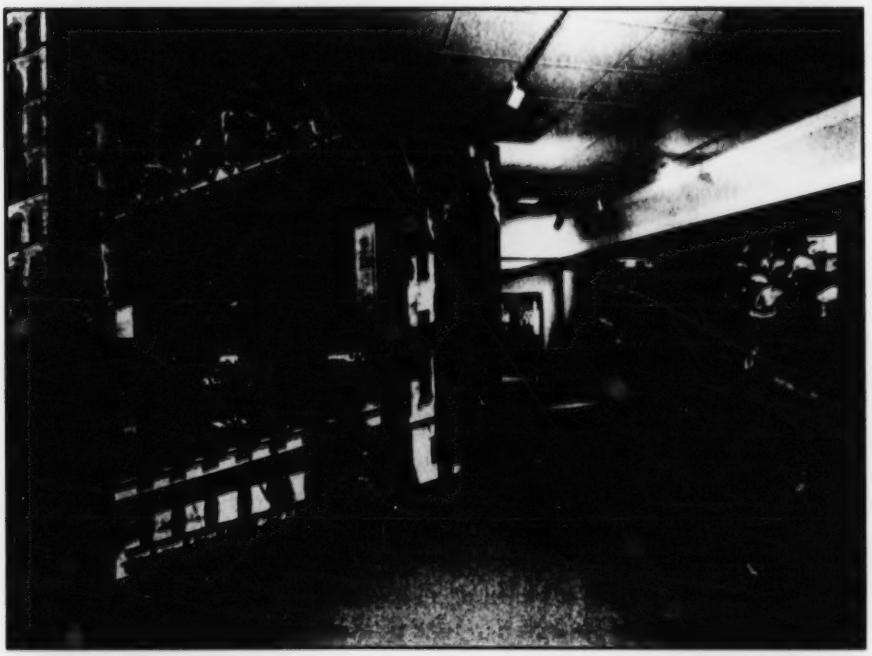
Young Allan, a student at Stanford, appeared infrequently at the White House. And when Herbert, Junior was confined to a North Carolina treatment center for tuberculosis, his father could only spare time for a single visit to the son he called Bub. During this period the president's daughter-in-law, Margaret, and her children, Peggy Ann and Herbert III (known as Pete) came to live at the White House. Advisers wanted the youngsters brought into the spotlight, if only to soften their grandfather's somewhat down image, but Hoover flatly refused to exploit his family. □

GALLERY

4

Part Six

THE GREAT DEPRESSION



The worst disaster in American economic history began in October 1929. This gallery puts the Great Depression in historical context and details Hoover's early response to the crisis.

Disaster in the Making

As early as 1925 then-Secretary of Commerce Hoover had warned President Coolidge that stock market speculation was getting out of hand. Yet in his final State of the Union Address, Coolidge saw no reason for alarm. "No Congress...ever assembled has met with a more pleasing prospect than that which appears at the present time"...said Coolidge early in 1929. "In the domestic field there is tranquility and contentment...and the highest record of prosperity in years."

Al Smith's campaign manager, General Motors executive John J. Raskob, agreed. In an article entitled "Everybody Ought to be Rich" Raskob declared, "Prosperity is in the nature of an endless chain and we can break it only by refusing to see what it is." President-elect Hoover disagreed. Even before his inauguration he urged the Federal Reserve to halt "crazy and dangerous" gambling on Wall Street by increasing the discount rate the Fed charged banks for speculative loans. He asked magazines and newspapers to run stories warning of the dangers of rampant speculation.

GALLERY 4

Once in the office, the new president ordered a reluctant Andrew Mellon, his holdover secretary of the treasury, to promote the purchase of bonds instead of stocks. He sent his friend Henry Robinson, a Los Angeles banker, to convey a cautionary message to the financiers of Wall Street - and received in return a long, scoffing memorandum from Thomas W. Lamont of J.P. Morgan and Company. When the Federal Reserve Board that August did take steps to check the flow of speculative credit, New York bankers defied Washington, the National City Bank alone promising $100 million in fresh loans. An angry Hoover let the president of the New York Stock Exchange know that he was thinking of regulatory steps to curb stock manipulation and other excesses. Yet he undercut his own threat by placing ultimate responsibility for such measures on New York State's new governor, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Presidents in 1929 were not supposed to regulate Wall Street, or even talk about the gyrating market for fear of inadvertently setting off a panic. Hoover had his own reasons for keeping quiet. His conscience was pained after a friend took his advice to buy an issue that later nosedived. "To clear myself," the president told intimates, "I just bought it back and I have never advised anybody since."

By early September 1929, the market was topping out, some

eighty two points above its January plateau. In eighteen months, General Electric had tripled in value, reaching $396 per share. Other blue chips, fueled by more than $8 billion in brokers' loans, enjoyed similar rises. The last week of October, however, brought a terrible reckoning. On October 24 alone, radio stocks lost 40% of their paper value. Montgomery Ward surrendered thirty-three points. Big bankers tried and failed to stem the dizzying decline in U.S. Steel, a bellweather stock.

A Day of Reckoning

On Black Tuesday, the twenty-ninth, the market collapsed. In the words of a gray haired Stock Exchange guard, "They roared like a lot of lions and tigers. They hollered and screamed, they clawed at one another's collars. It was like a bunch of crazy men. Every once in a while, when Radio or Steel or Auburn would take another tumble, you'd see some poor devil collapse and fall to the floor."

GALLERY 4

In a single day, sixteen million shares were traded - a record - and thirty billion dollars vanished into thin air. Westinghouse lost two thirds of its September value. DuPont dropped seventy points. The "Era of Get Rich Quick" was over. Jack Dempsey, America's first millionaire athlete, lost $3 million. Cynical New York hotel clerks asked incoming guests, "You want a room for sleeping or jumping?"

Refusing to accept the "natural" economic cycle in which a market crash was followed by cuts in business investment, production and wages, Hoover summoned industrialists to the White House on November 21, part of a round robin of conferences with business, labor, and farm leaders, and secured a promise to hold the line on wages. Henry Ford even agreed to increase workers' daily pay from six to seven dollars. From the nation's utilities, Hoover won commitments of $1.8 billion in new construction and repairs for 1930. Railroad executives made a similar pledge. Organized labor agreed to withdraw its latest wage demands.

The president ordered federal departments to speed up construction projects. He contacted all forty-eight state governors to make a similar appeal for expanded public works. He went to Congress with a $160 million tax cut, coupled with a doubling of resources for public buildings and dams, highways and harbors. In

December of 1929 Hoover's friend Julius Barnes of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce presided over the first meeting of the National Business Survey Conference, a task force of four hundred leading businessmen designated to enforce the voluntary agreements. Looking back at the year, the *New York Times* judged Commander Richard Byrd's expedition to the South Pole - not the Wall Street crash - the biggest news story of 1929.

Praise for the President's intervention was widespread. "No one in his place could have done more," concluded the *New York Times* in the spring of 1930, by which time the Little Bull Market had restored a measure of confidence on Wall Street. "Very few of his predecessors could have done as much." On February 18 Hoover announced that the preliminary shock had passed, and that employment was again on the mend. In June, a delegation of bishops and bankers called at the White House to warn of spreading joblessness. Hoover reminded them of his successful conferences with business and labor, and the explosion of government activity and public works designed to alleviate suffering. "Gentlemen," he concluded, "you have come six weeks too late".

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Boom and Bust

For most of our history Americans have been resigned to the "boom and bust" school of economics. When the economy got overheated and speculation ran rampant, a crash was unavoidable. Under such circumstances the best government could do was to do nothing that might make a bad thing worse. "Panics" had occured in the 1830's under President Martin Van Buren, in the 1850s under James Buchanan, during Ulysses Grant's term in the 1870's and, most notably, under Grover Cleveland in the 1890s.

None of these presidents did much to stem the deflation in prices, contraction of investment, and loss of jobs that resulted - for the simple reason that standard economic theory held there was little if anything they could do. Then, in 1921, a post war slump led President Warren Harding to name Hoover as chairman of a special conference to deal with unemployment. "There is no economic failure so terrible in its import," Hoover declared at the time, "as that of a country possessing a surplus of every necessity of life in which numbers...willing and anxious to work are deprived of dire necessities. It simply cannot be if our moral and economic system is to survive.

This view explains President Hoover's vigorous counterattack in the wake of Wall Street's initial tumble. Not all of his advisers were so willing to abandon Boom and Bust theories. As late as 1930 Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon held that a panic might not be such a bad thing. "It will purge the rottenness out of the system," he added. "High costs of living...will come down. People will work harder, live a moral life. Values will be adjusted, and enterprising people will pick up the wrecks from less competent people." Mellon lost out, however, and was packed off to the Court of Saint James.

Why the Great Depression?

GALLERY 4

Economists are still divided about what caused the Great Depression, and what turned a relatively mild downturn into a decade long nightmare. Hoover himself emphasized the dislocations brought on by World War I, the rickety structure of American banking, excessive stock speculation and Congress' refusal to act on many of his proposals. The president's critics argued that in approving the Smoot-Hawley Tariff in the spring of 1930, he unintentionally raised barriers around U.S. products, worsened the plight of debtor nations and set off a round of retaliatory measures that crippled global trade.

Neither claim went far enough. In truth Hoover's celebration of technology failed to anticipate the end of a postwar building boom, or a glut of 26,000,000 new cars and other consumer goods flooding the market. Agriculture, mired in depression for much of the 1920's, was deprived of cash it needed to take part in the consumer revolution. At the same time, the average worker's wages of $1,500 a year failed to keep pace with the spectacular gains in productivity achieved since 1920. By 1929 production was outstripping demand.

The United States had too many banks, and too many of them played the stock market with depositors' funds, or speculated in their own stocks. Only a third or so belonged to the Federal Reserve System on which Hoover placed such reliance. In addition, government had yet to devise insurance for the jobless or income maintenance for the destitute. When unemployment resulted, buying power vanished overnight. Since most people were carrying a heavy debt load even before the crash, the onset of

recession in the spring of 1930 meant that they simply stopped spending.

Together government and business actually spent *more* in the first half of 1930 than the previous year. Yet frightened consumers cut back their expenditures by ten percent. A severe drought ravaged the agricultural heartland beginning in the summer of 1930. Foreign banks went under, draining U.S. wealth and destroying world trade. The combination of these factors caused a downward spiral, as earning fell, domestic banks collapsed, and mortgages were called in. Hoover's hold the line policy in wages lasted little more than a year. Unemployment soared from five million in 1930 to over eleven million in 1931. A sharp recession had become the Great Depression. □

GALLERY

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Part Seven

FROM HERO TO SCAPEGOAT

It was Hoover's fate as President to cope with the greatest crisis since the Civil War. In the process he sacrificed much of his heroe's reputation.

From Hero to Scapegoat

No American president entered office with greater expectations, or left with more bitter disappointments, than Herbert Hoover. "I only wish I could say what is in my heart," he remarked as hard times engulfed the nation and his popularity evaporated. But Hoover's heart never could subdue his head.

Hoover's presidency showed the limitations of managerial government in a time of national emergency. With his stiff-necked refusal to play the political game, the president clung to the same theories of individual initiative and grassroots cooperation that had fed and salved war-torn Europe and ministered to flood victims in this country. "A voluntary deed is infinitely more precious to our national ideas and spirit than a thousandfold poured from the Treasury," he said. This was the practical idealism that had raised Hoover the presidency, only to become a ball and chain hobbling him from galvanizing a suffering nation.

GALLERY

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To most Americans, the president was a remote, grim-faced man in a blue, double-breasted suit. They saw none of his private anguish throughout sixteen hour days, engaging in fruitless meal-time conferences with economists, politicans, and bankers. Hoover's hands shook as he lit one Juan Alones cigar after another. His hair turned white and he lost twenty-five pounds.

Holding office at such a time, said Hoover, was akin to being a repairman behind a dike. "No sooner is one leak plugged up then it is necessary to dash over and stop another that has broken out. There is no end to it." Defensive to the point of bewilderment, he told reporters, "No one is actually starving." In fact, said Hoover, he knew of one hobo who had managed to beg ten meals in a single day. He once offered Rudy Vallee a gold medal if the popular entertainer could come up with a joke to curtain hoarding of gold.

But increasingly the joke, such as it was, was the man *Time* called "President Reject."

"Mellon pulled the whistle
Hoover rang the bell
Wall Street gave the signal
And the country went to hell."

Hoover himself indulged in a rare bit of whimsy during a meeting with former President Coolidge. After his successor had outlined a host of anti-Depression measures, Coolidge offered wry consolation. "You can't expect to see calves running in the field the day after you put the bull to the cows," he commented. "No," replied Hoover, "but I do expect to see contented cows."

There was precious little contentment among Hoover's countrymen. One day in 1931, 10,000 Communist demonstrators picketed the White House with placards reading, "The Hoover program - a crust of bread and a bayonet." Congress, for whom the next election seemed more important than unity in the midst of crisis, stubbornly resisted the president. "Why is it that when a man is on this job as I am," raged a baffled Hoover, "day and night, doing the best he can, that certain men...seek to oppose everything he does, just to oppose him?"

GALLERY 4

Worse lay in store. In 1929 the Democratic National Committee hired former newspaperman Charles Michaelson to attack Hoover's Superman image. Backed by a million dollar budget, Michaelson wrote speeches for Democrats on Capitol Hill and distributed a column called "Dispelling the Fog". The president was falsely implicated in a sugar lobbying scandal. An alleged food riot in Arkansas was cited as "proof" of Hoover's inhumanity. Herbert, Jr. was accused of profiteering from a job with airlines. The president's niece was informed by a gardner that the Depression resulted when "Hoover and Mellon" removed all the gold from Fort Knox and buried it on an island in the Potomac.

Will Rogers summed up the mood of a nation: if someone bit an apple and found a worm in it, he joked, Hoover would get the blame. Desperate encampments of tin and cardboard shacks were dubbed "Hoovervilles." There were "Hoover hogs" (armadillos fit for eating) "Hoover flags" (empty pockets turned turned inside out) "Hoover blankets (newspapers barely covering the destitute forced to sleep outdoors) and "Hoover pullmans" (empty boxcars used by an army of vagabonds escaping from their roots).

Rumormongers claimed that the president had diverted public funds to build his fishing retreat, and was somehow involved in the kidnapping of Charles Lindbergh's infant son. Mrs. Hoover said it was no surprise that the voters had turned on her husband; if she believed half of what they had been told, then she would not vote for him herself.

Hoover adopted a bloody but unbowed stance. "I cannot

take the time from my job to answer such stuff," he said. At the same time it must be said that he did little to advance his cause. Building speeches like an engineer builds a bridge, Hoover delivered his statistic-laden texts in a dishwatery monotone. His face wore the look of a condemned man, not a confident leader. "You can't make a Teddy Roosevelt out of me," he explained, apologetically.

He shied away as if by instinct from the emotional aspects of modern, mass leadership. In the spring of 1932 three Detroit children hitchiked to Washington to try and get their father out of jail. Hoover was deeply moved and ordered the father released immediately. Yet he refused to let the press be informed, or the children exploited for his personal political advantage. From hero to scapegoat: Hoover's failure to dramatize himself was his greatest strength as a humanitarian and his greatest flaw as a politician.

GALLERY 4

The Battle of Anacostia Flats

In the summer of 1932 in the midst of the Great Depression, World War I veterans seeking early payment of a bonus scheduled for 1945 assembled in Washington to pressure Congress and the White House. Hoover resisted the demand for an early bonus. Veterans benefits took up 25% of the 1932 federal budget. Even so, as the Bonus Expeditionary Force swelled to 60,000 men, the president secretly ordered that its members be given tents, cots, army rations and medical care.

In July the Senate rejected the bonus 62 to 18. Most of the protestors went home, aided by Hoover's offer of free passage on the rails. Ten thousand remained behind, among them a hard core of Communists and other organizers. On the morning of July 28 forty protestors tried to reclaim an evacuated building in downtown Washington scheduled for demolition. The city's police chief, Pellham Glassford, sympathetic to the marchers, was knocked down by a brick. Glassford's assistant suffered a fractured skull. When rushed by a crowd, two other policemen opened fire. Two of the marchers were killed.

At this point the District of Columbia government asked federal troops to preserve order. Hoover reluctantly agreed, but only after limiting Major General Douglas MacArthur's authority. MacArthur's troops would be unarmed. The mission was to escort

the marchers unharmed to camps along the Anacostia River. But MacArthur ignored the president's orders, taking no prisoners and driving tattered protestors from their encampment.

After Hoover ordered a halt to the army's march, MacArthur again took things into his own hands, violently clearing the Anacostia campsite. A national uproar ensued. In far off Albany, New York, Democratic presidential candidate Franklin D. Roosevelt grasped the political implications instantly. "Well," he told a friend on hearing the news, "this elects me."

Against all Odds

GALLERY 4

"We are opposed by six million unemployed, 10,000 bonus marchers, and 10 cent corn," said Herbert Hoover at the start of an uphill re-election campaign. "Is it any wonder that the prospects are dark?" On top of everything else the president was saddled with Prohibition, whose enforcement he believed unworkable. Originally he intended to make only three speeches on his behalf, but as the contest heated up, Hoover took to the campaign trail for weeks on end.

"Let no man tell you it could not be worse," he told one audience. "It could be so much worse that these days now, distressing as they are, would look like veritable prosperity." This was hardly an inspiring message, nor did Hoover's defense of the gold standard and balanced budget win many converts - especially at a time when the magical Franklin D. Roosevelt was appealing to the "forgotten man." FDR promised to cut federal expenditures by 25% and attacked high tariffs. Hoover replied that a billion dollars in spending had already been cut and that tariffs had saved jobs in the Midwest and industrial Northeast.

Everywhere Hoover went he saw evidence of the nation's bitterness. He was jeered outside a Detroit arena and hooted at in Oakland. After tomatoes were thrown at his train in Kansas, he said dejectedly, "I can't go on with it anymore." But he did. Disregarding doctor's orders, Hoover warned of the threat to individual freedom posed by Roosevelt's vaguely defined New Deal. Election Day was a Democratic sweep, as Roosevelt carried all but six states. Hoover received the bad news at his California home. A few days later, on the east bound presidential train to Washington, friendly journalist found an exhausted Hoover. The President looked up at his visitor with a one word greeting. "Why?" he asked.

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The Banking Crisis

In the last weeks of his term, Hoover faced a desperate crisis of confidence as uncertain investors sought reassurance that the new administration would defend the gold standard. On February 17, 1933, the president wrote the president-elect, seeking assurances that Roosevelt would balance the budget, combat inflation, and halt publication of loans made by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Roosevelt, sensing that his discredited predecessor was trying to tie his hands, kept silent.

Soon banks in two dozen states began to totter. Hoover denounced corrupt bankers as worse than Al Capone ("He apparently was kind to the poor.") He proposed that the Federal Reserve guarantee every depositor's account in the nation. The idea of deposit insurance would eventually become law, but in February 1933, the Reserve's governors preferred a general bank holiday instead. Hoover refused to take such a drastic action without Roosevelt's agreement. And FDR had his own agenda.

GALLERY

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Twice on the night of March 3, Hoover telephoned the president-elect trying to persuade him to join in concerted action. FDR replied that governors were free to do what they wishes on a state by state basis. A little after one in the morning, the governors of New York and Illinois unilaterally suspended banking operations in their states. "We are at the end of our string," a bone-weary president remarked to his secretary that morning, "there is nothing more we can do." □

Part Eight

AN UNCOMMON WOMAN

Herbert and Lou Henry Hoover loved the outdoors. Visitors to the Hoover Library-Museum can explore the President's fishing camp, originally built in the Shenandoah Mountains of Virginia.

GALLERY 5

My Lou

Born in Waterloo, Iowa, in 1874, the future Lou Henry Hoover learned to love the outdoors from her banker father. Speaking of her parents she wrote, "they would not want me to stay meekly at home." The day after her marriage in February 1899, the bride left for China, the first of an unending series of global journeys that would carry her to the furthest corners of civilization.

Throughout her life, Lou was very much her husband's partner in everything he did, whether pursuing the history of mining, caring for Americans stranded in Europe by World War I, feeding desperate Belgium, or convincing her countrymen to voluntarily reduce their food consumption during the war in order to aid the Allies. When Prohibition became law, the man of the house emptied his cellar of the finest port in California. "I don't have to live with the American people," he told a friend. "But I do have to live with Lou."

Not until Jacqueline Kennedy restored the White House in the 1960s would a First Lady lavish so much time and energy on the old house. Lou turned the second floor West hall into a gracious room filled with bookcases and palms and transformed the shabby first floor into a showcase for American art and antiques.

When the Great Depression cast a shadow over her husband's presidency, Lou hired secretaries to channel assistance to victims of hard time, after first concealing her own involvement. She also accompanied the president on his unsuccessful 1932 reelection campaign. At the end she still managed a smile for reporters. "See, we are carrying on," she said. And so she was.

Spirit of Adventure

At a time when most women were expected to confine their activities to the homefront, Lou Henry Hoover took the whole world for her stage. In her youth she aspired to become a geologist, because this outdoor occupation would enable her to pursue the study of rock formations she had grown to love on hikes with her father.

Turn of the century China posed an even greater challenge. During the Boxer Rebellion, Lou did not huddle in basements but

nursed the wounded, scrounged up food, medicine and clothing for the injured, and even stood guard duty on barricades. When an eyewitness wrote later that this extraordinarily brave young woman actually seemed to "enjoy" the whole harrowing experience, she only reflected Lou's own feelings. As Lou told a friend, "You missed one of the opportunities of your life by not coming to China in the summer of 1900...the most interesting seige of the age."

Placid by comparison, Lou's subsequent travels took her to Egypt, Burma, Australia, Japan, Russia, Germany, Belgium, France, New Zealand and Great Britain. She visited World War I battlefields and in 1921 drove her own car from California to Washington D.C. Another joy was camping trips by pack mule through the Sierra Mountains. In 1923 she took part in the founding of the National Amateur Athletic Federation. She remained active in the NAAF's Women's Division which encouraged participation by all girls and young women in the adventures of organized competition.

GALLERY 5

Life of the Mind

"The independent girl is truly of quite modern origin, and usually is a most bewitching little piece of humanity." So wrote Miss Lou Henry at the age of fifteen. As a truly independent girl and woman, Lou would go on to pursue a remarkably active intellectual and artistic life. She became the first woman in America to earn a geology degree, taking additional course work at the London School of Mines and authoring scholarly articles like "The Geology of the Dead Sea."

Lou wrote biographical sketches of the Dowager Empress of China and as First Lady prepared an exhaustive social history of the White House. She also assembled an impressive collection of historical prints relating to the White House and early Washington D.C. Her sophisticated musical tastes led to concerts in the East Room featuring such celebrated artists as Rosa Ponselle, Vladimir Horowitz, and Jascha Heifetz. At her behest, pianist Ignace Paderewski performed benefit concerts for the unemployed and the White House played host to Black choirs from Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes.

Lou was a gifted linguist, artist, and photographer, who

traded in her box Brownie for an 8mm motion picture camera used to record family activities and her work with the Girl Scouts. On top of everything else, Mrs. Hoover was an amateur architect largely responsible for the house on San Juan Hill at Palo Alto and the presidential fishing camp built in 1929 along the Rapidan River.

Gift of the Heart

GALLERY 5

Like her husband, who has been called both the last of America's old fashioned presidents and the first of the new, Lou Henry Hoover was something of a transitional figure in the White House. While she shunned political speechmaking, she did become the first First Lady to be heard on the radio, where she appealed for donations for unemployment relief just as earlier she had campaigned on behalf of war-torn Belgium.

Earlier still, following her 1898 graduation from Stanford, Lou joined the local Red Cross chapter and rolled bandages for soldiers in the Spanish-American War. In 1914 she organized efforts to care for U.S. tourists stranded in Europe by the outbreak of World War I. She saw to child care, food, lodging, wardrobe and even concerts and tours to divert anxious Americans from their plight. Later, she took part in promoting her husband's war work through the United States Food Administration. Her domestic "hooverizing" brought her considerable publicity, and she was not bashful about making speeches for the cause.

None of these outside activities caused Lou to neglect her family. Constantly she reminded her sons of the importance of doing something worthwhile with their lives. As she put it in a 1914 letter, "The ambition to do, to accomplish irrespective of its measure in money of fame, is what should be inculcated. The desire to make the things that are, better, in a little way with what is at hand - in a big way if the opportunity comes."

Lou and the Girl Scouts

"I was a Scout years ago," Lou said late in life, recounting her childhood spent fishing and camping in the company of her father, "before the movement ever started." In 1917 Lou was personally recruited by Juliette Low, founder of the Girl Scouts;

and for the rest of her life, Mrs. Hoover served continuously as a board member or officer.

Having never had a daughter of her own, Lou once said she would not know what to do with a girl. In this as in so much else, she was being unnecessarily modest. For in truth, she adopted more than a million girls in green and brown uniforms, anxious to introduce them to the outdoor world she had first encountered as a ten-year-old tomboy on the Cedar River.

Throughout the 1920s she held office either as president or vice president, positions she filled on an honorary basis during and after her years in the White House. In 1929 alone she raised over half a million dollars to help realize a five year plan of organizational development. She is also credited with the first sale of Girl Scout cookies during her second term as president.

Lou Hoover was considered a highly effective spokesperson and role model for young women. Said one observer: "Mrs. Hoover is just the type of person one would expect young girls to adore. She has a charm of manner that immediately attracts one." She certainly attracted many young women to Scouting. In 1927 there were some 168,000 Girl Scouts in America. By the time of Lou's death in 1944, their ranks had swelled to 1,035,000.

GALLERY 5

Camp Rapidan

Every president needs a place to escape from the cares and burdens of office. For the Hoovers that place was Camp Rapidan, a rustic fishing camp located one hundred miles from Washington in Virginia's scenic Shenandoah Mountain range and built with $120,000 of the president's own money. Those who visited the camp saw a very different man from the harried executive whose days were blighted by economic crisis. At Rapidan, Hoover could discard the formal gear of Washington for white flannels and a Panama hat. He pitched horseshoes with Charles Lindbergh and, sitting on a log with a British Prime Minister, made plans for a world disarmament conference to be held in London in 1930.

Rapidan was Lou's creation as much as her husband's. She designed a four tier stone fountain as a centerpiece, adding blackeyed Susans and larkspur to complement the lush mountain laurel. It was Lou who left explicit instructions that the President's Cabin incorporate and not destroy a majestic old hemlock tree -

Lou who refused to burn live wood, coal, or oil - Lou whose scruples made for chilly nights but a warm conscience.

When the Hoovers discovered that local children had no school they donated funds to build one and to hire a teacher. Most days the First Lady rode horseback, occasionally stopping in nearby Madison to patronize local rugmakers or furniture craftsman. In the evening Lou invited guests to join her as the moon rose over Fork Mountain. It was a welcome alternative to the tumult of politics and dinners for visiting royalty.

Guest Book

GALLERY 5

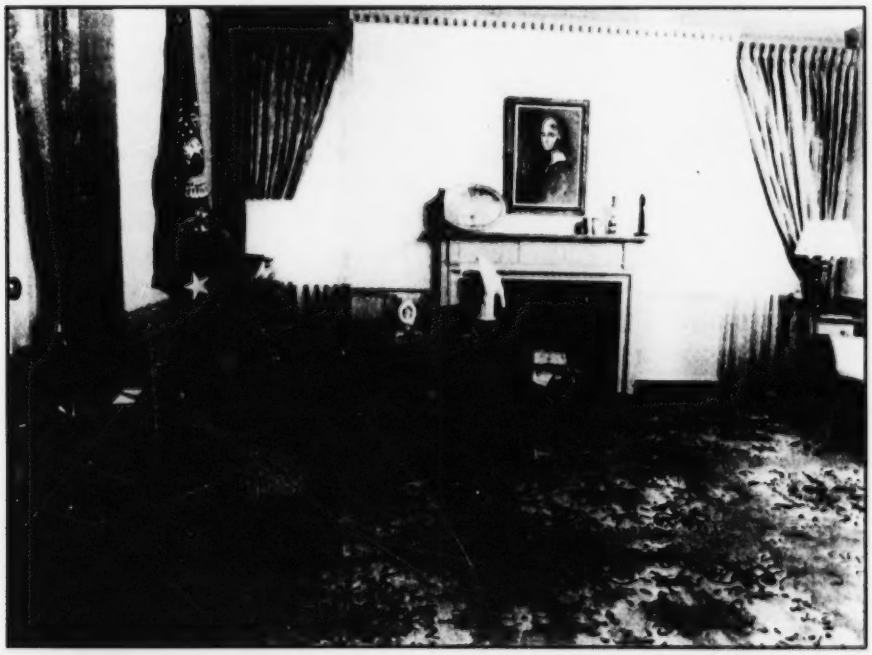
When someone suggested that perhaps the president would enjoy a weekend alone at Camp Rapidan, Lou brushed aside the idea. "He always wants to have people around him," she explained. He would undoubtedly turn around and come straight back to Washington if he were to arrive at the camp and find it empty of weekend guests.

Among the distinguished visitors to Camp Rapidan were British Prime Minister James Ramsay-MacDonald, who protested, "I can't go to the mountains in this cutaway and striped trousers," before Hoover loaned him clothing from his own wardrobe; Charles and Ann Morrow Lindbergh, Vice President Charles Curtis, Philosopher Will Durant, newspaper publishers Adolph Ochs and Eugene Meyer, industrialist Harvey Firestone, and numerous members of the Supreme Court and the Cabinet.

Each visitor left his or her name in a special guest book to commemorate their time along the Rapidan. "This civilization is not going to depend upon what we do when we work so much as what we do in our time off...We go to chain theatres and movies; we watch somebody else knock a ball over the fence or kick it over the goal post. I do that and I believe in it. I do, however, insist that no other organized joy has values comparable to the outdoor experience...The joyous rush of the brook, the contemplation of the eternal flow of the stream, the stretch of forest and mountain all reduce our egotism, smoothe our troubles, and shame our wickedness." □

Part Nine

COUNSELOR TO THE REPUBLIC



Former President Hoover lived here, in Suite 31-A of New York's elegant Waldorf Towers. His recreated living room is part of the newly renovated Herbert Hoover Library-Museum.

GALLERY 6

Life After the White House

Democracy is a harsh employer," said Herbert Hoover in recalling his 1932 defeat. Rejected by his countrymen, Hoover departed Washington in March, 1933, his once bright reputation in shambles and his career in public service apparently at an end. Yet he refused to fade away. Prior to leaving office Hoover told his White House secretary:

"Here's what I am going to do. I'm going to lay off for six or eight months and then I am going to start raising Hell. I've caught a lot of it in the last four years; now I'm going to talk and write and do any damn thing I want to...anyway I'll have a lot of fun."

Hoover had little fun for the next twelve years, when Franklin Roosevelt occupied the Oval Office and the former president was forced to defend himself against charges that he had somehow either caused the Great Depression or done little to combat it. But Hoover's voice was not silenced. He wrote book after book, delivered countless speeches, twice reorganized the executive branch of the government, and raised tens of millions of dollars for favorite causes like his beloved Stanford University and the Boys Clubs of America. In the summer of 1941 he dedicated the towering headquarters of the Hoover Institution at Palo Alto, destined to become one of the world's foremost scholarly centers and a major recruiting ground for conservative presidents.

After Harry Truman invited him to undertake a post-World War II global relief mission, Hoover was again free to do what he did best, feed people. Gradually he regained much of the luster stemming from his earlier humanitarian campaigns. Walter Lippmann spoke for many who had disagreed with Hoover in the past, only to marvel at his rediscovery. In war and peace alike, said Lippman, Hoover's real self was "the bold and brilliant philanthropist who binds up wounds and avoids inflicting them."

The Boys Club

In October 1936, the former president found a new cause, one that would engage him for the rest of his life. The same night Hoover joined the board of the Boys Club of America he was elected its chairman. For Hoover this was only the latest chapter in a story of an Iowa orphan who had gone on to feed children

throughout Europe and organize the American Child Health Association.

"The boy is our most precious possession," Hoover said in the spring of 1937. "He strains our nerves, yet he is a complex of cells teeming with affection. He is a periodic nuisance yet he is a joy forever." Unfortunately, "we have increased the number of boys per acre." For the youthful resident of urban America, that meant a life "of stairs, light switches, alleys, fire escapes...and a chance to get run over by a truck."

A boy denied the pleasures of nature had to contend with the policeman on the beat. But packs need not run into gangs, said Hoover, not so long as "pavement boys" had a place to play checkers and learn a trade, swim in a pool and steal nothing more harmful than second base. Hoover was determined to start a hundred new Boys Clubs in three years. He more than met his goal. Not long before his death, this lifelong advocate for children was embarking on a still more ambitious plan - "A Thousand Clubs For A Million Boys."

A Comfortable Monastery

Beginning in December 1940, Hoover spent most of each year in New York City. Home was Suite 31-A of the Waldorf Towers, a Park Avenue landmark he shared with such celebrated figures as the Duke and Duchess of Windsor, Cole Porter, the Shah of Iran and that monarch of cafe society, Elsa Maxwell. The Waldorf was a self-contained community, serviced by 155 telephone operators, two hundred cooks, and a small army of security men. The hotel even supplied Hoover with a personal waiter, named Daniel Rodriquez.

Now that Rodriguez was a member of the family, said the former president, he was entitled to call him Chief. When Hoover tired of hotel cooking, he sent out to the nearest Horn and Hardart for baked beans. When in need of fresh air he donned a hat and strolled two miles up Park Avenue, then down Fifth. Construction workers too young to have felt the Depression's sting greeted him warmly. Others, even less likely, took a protective interest in the elderly former president. "Mr. Hoover," announced a would be burglar one evening, "you should not be walking around in the dark this time of night. Now go home."

Home consisted of four rooms, one of them set aside as an office for up to five secretaries. Here Hoover conducted the largest and, arguably, the most productive ex-presidency in U. S. history. At the age of 86 Hoover traveled 14,000 miles, delivered twenty speeches, and accepted the latest of his 468 awards and citations. Said Hoover, "There is no joy to be had from retirement, except in some kind of productive work. Otherwise you degenerate into talking to everybody about your pains and pills. The point is not to retire from work or you will shrivel up into a nuisance to all mankind."

Back to the White House

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In May 1945, Harry Truman invited America's only living former president to visit him at the White House. "I would be most happy to talk over the European food situation with you," wrote Truman. "Also it would be a pleasure for me to become acquainted with you." It was the start of an unlikely, yet historic, friendship between two men who would form perhaps the oddest couple in American politics.

Early in 1946 Truman dispatched the 71 year old Hoover to thirty eight nations in an effort to beg, borrow and cajole enough food to avert mass starvation among victims of World War II. During three months Hoover traveled over 50,000 miles and visited seven kings and thirty-six prime ministers. He paused in Rome to secure Pope Pius' blessing and in the rubble of Warsaw's Jewish ghetto to remember 200,000 victims of Nazi oppression.

Back home Hoover appealed to his countrymen to reduce consumption of wheat and fats, saying, "We do not want the American flag flying over nationwide Buchenwalds." Then he was off on a second relief mission to Latin America. In 1947 he returned to Germany and Austria.

His relationship with Truman deepened, despite political differences. Truman restored Hoover's name to the great dam that Roosevelt's Administration had called Boulder Dam. He had Lou's portrait hung in the White House. In 1947 he asked the Great Engineer to reorganize the executive branch of government, to make it more efficient if not necessarily more conservative.

All this activity had added ten years to his life, a grateful Hoover told friends. Writing to Truman in 1962, the former presi-

dent remarked, "Yours has been friendship which has reached deeper into my life than you know."

The Hoover Commissions

In 1947 Hoover undertook a massive reorganization of the executive branch of a federal government bloated by war. Not only did Uncle Sam defend the nation and shape basic economic policy - he also manufactured ice cream, helium and retreaded tires, operated a railroad in Panama and a distillery in the Virgin Islands, owned one-quarter of the continental United States and $27 billion in personal property.

Unfortunately no one could account for more than a fraction of the whole. The Army alone had five million items in its warehouses, some dating to the Civil War - and no inventory. Because there was no central agency responsible for government purchases, the resulting paperwork often cost taxpayers more than the items and services themselves.

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Do more with less: that was the theme of the Commission's reports, each written by Hoover and designed to fit on a single page of the *New York Times*. Not all his ideas were approved; for example, few agreed with Hoover's proposal for an administrative vice president entrusted with oversight of the federal budgetary process. But Harry Truman, re-elected against all odds in 1948, supported enough to see that more than 70% of Hoover's recommendations were enacted into law.

In 1953 a Second Hoover Commission returned to the task of pruning big government. This time its chairman lamented that he got less support from Dwight Eisenhower than from Harry Truman. Even so, as late as 1961 John F. Kennedy's Secretary of Defense, Robert MacNamara, was thanking Hoover for ideas that could save billions in Pentagon spending.

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Counselor to the Republic

In July 1949, Ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy wrote his friend in a tone suggesting that Hoover's long passage through political purgatory was at last coming to an end. "You have had the acclaim of the American people; you have had the criticism of the American people," said Kennedy, "and now, in the twilight of your life, the American people have come to realize that Herbert Hoover is one of our few...outstanding men in the public life of this generation."

Hoover took a more detached view of the shifting currents of opinion. Asked how he had survived the long years of ostracism coinciding with Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, Hoover said simply, "I outlived the bastards." More whimsically he proposed a set of reforms in American life, including four strikes in baseball "so as to get more men on bases...the crowd only gets worked up when somebody is on second base," an end to political ghostwriters and the scheduling of all after dinner speakers *before* dinner "so that the gnaw of hunger would speed up terminals."

The former president became a kind of national Dutch uncle, advising presidents of both parties. A reporter who dropped by the Waldorf in 1960 could hardly believe that Hoover worked eight to twelve hours each day. After all, said the journalist, the former president was nearly eighty-six years old. "Yes," replied one of his secretaries, "but he doesn't know that."

With his unending series of books, articles, speeches and other public appearances Hoover's post-White House career was far different from that of other American presidents whose failure to win a second term had blighted their lives and all but destroyed their influence. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that Herbert Hoover practically invented the modern ex-presidency.

The Angler

A true citizen of the world, Herbert Hoover was happiest in the woods - tramping a forest path, baiting a hook, savoring the icy scent of a winter's morning in the Blue Ridge or Sierra Nevadas. He found God in a trout stream as well as a church pew. He pursued Japanese tuna and Canadian salmon - and he laughed at Calvin Coolidge for preferring earthworms to fly fishing.

Hoover pulled in his first catch of the age of eight. In time

he became familiar with "the steel of Damascus, the bamboos of Siam, the silk of Japan, the lacquer of China, the feathers of Brazil, and the silver of Colorado." As president of the Izaak Walton League, Hoover once declared:

"Man and boy, the American is a fisherman. That comprehensive list of human rights, the Declaration of Independence, is firm that all men (and boys) are endowed with certain inalienable rights, including life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, which obviously includes the pursuit of fish." Late in life Hoover registered a humorous protest against such modern distractions as "telephone bells, church bells, office boys, columnists, pieces of paper and the household chores." Fishing was a welcome alternative. Besides, wrote Hoover, no one ever went to jail while fishing "unless they forgot to buy a license."

A year before his death, his own angling days behind him, Hoover published *Fishing for Fun and To Wash Your Soul.* In a wistful postscript he reminded readers that the joys of outdoor life did not end with the last catch. "Two months after you return from a fishing expedition you will begin again to think of the snowcap or the distant mountain peak, the glint of sunshire on the water, the excitement of the dark blue seas, and the glories of the forest. And then you buy more tackle and more clothes for the next year. There is no cure for these infections. And that big fish never shrinks."

Death and Burial

In the summer of 1963 an attack of internal bleeding nearly proved fatal to the eighty eight year old Hoover. The old man was undeterred, telling his son, "I am going to pull through. I still have a great deal of work to do." The next morning, Herbert, Junior received startling confirmation of his father's resolve when the patient sat up in bed, called for his pipe and announced, "We're back in business."

In October 1964, a few weeks after his ninetieth birthday, Hoover sent Harry Truman a get well telegram after his friend injured himself in a bathtub fall. Soon after Hoover himself suffered massive hemorrhaging in the stomach and intestine. For five days the Waldorf became a virtual hospital annex as doctors administered two hundred blood transfusions.

The vigil ended a few minutes before noon on October 20.

Following ceremonies in New York and Washington, a C-30 Hercules aircraft bearing the body of Iowa's only president touched down in Cedar Rapids on Sunday, October 25. Thousands of people lined the thirty three mile route to West Branch, where a crowd estimated at 75,000 stood silently on a warm Indian Summer afternoon. Shielded from the prairie wind by a billowing stand of cedar trees, the mourners listened as Dr. Elton Trueblood, a Quaker theologian and family friend, declared that Herbert Hoover would be remembered for as long as the American Dream was cherished. "He has worked hard; he has been very brave; he has endured," concluded Trueblood.

Today America's 31st president lies beneath a slab of Vermont marble within sight of the tiny cottage where his life began. In a final demonstration of Quaker simplicity there is no presidential seal, no inscription of any kind, just the name Herbert Hoover and the dates 1874-1964. □

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FURTHER READING

The following books on the life and times of Herbert and Lou Henry Hoover are available in the gift shop directly adjacent to the museum galleries. These books are also available by mail. Please send all inquiries on price and availability to the Museum Store Manager, Hoover Library and Museum, P.O. Box 488, West Branch, Iowa 52358.

For General Readers:

Dennis, Ruth, *The Homes of the Hoovers* (West Branch, 1986)

Hawley, Ellis W., and others, *Herbert Hoover and the Historians* (West Branch, 1989)

Hoover, Herbert, *Fishing for Fun and to Wash Your Soul* [1963] (West Branch, 1990)

Mayer, Dale C., *Dining with the Hoover Family: A Collection of Reminiscences and Recipes* (West Branch, 1991)

Mayer, Dale C., ed., *Lou Henry Hoover: Essays on a Busy Life* (Worland, WY, 1993)

Smith, Richard Norton, *An Uncommon Man: The Triumph of Herbert Hoover* [1984] (Worland, WY, 1990)

Wilson, Joan Hoff, *Herbert Hoover: Forgotten Progressive* [1975] (Prospect Heights, IL, 1992)

For Specialized Readers:

Hoover, Herbert, *American Individualism* [1992] and *The Challenge to Liberty* [1934] (West Branch, 1989)

Hoover, Herbert, *The Ordeal of Woodrow Wilson* [1958] (Baltimore, 1992)

Nash, George H., *The Life of Herbert Hoover: The Engineer, 1874-1914* (New York, 1983)

Nash, George H., *The Life of Herbert Hoover: The Humanitarian, 1914-1917* (New York, 1988)

Walch, Timothy and Dwight M. Miller, eds., *Herbert Hoover and Harry S. Truman: A Documentary History* (Worland, WY, 1992)

For Young Readers:

Clinton, Susan, *Encyclopedia of the Presidents: Herbert Hoover* (Chicago, 1988)

Hilton, Suzanne, *The World of Young Herbert Hoover* (New York, 1987)

Hoover, Herbert, *On Growing Up: Letters from and to American Children* [1962] (West Branch, 1990)